

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Central Archaeological Library

NEW DELHI

ACC. NO. 72767

CALL NO. 723.34095442/Par

D.G.A 79

MUGHAL MONUMENTS IN THE
PUNJAB AND HARYANA

72767

Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana

72767

SUBHASH PARIHAR

723.34095442

Par



INTER-INDIA PUBLICATIONS

NEW DELHI-110 015

Cataloging in Publication Data—DK

Parihar, Subhash, 1953—

Mughal monuments in the Punjab and Haryana.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Architecture, Mogul—India—Punjab. 2. Architecture, Mogul—India—Haryana. 3. Monuments—India—Punjab. 4. Monuments—India—Haryana. 5. Mogul Empire. I. Title.

अवधि 72767 दिनांक 3/7/86
निर्देश 723.34095442/Par
एनई दिल्ली
केन्द्रीय पुस्तकालय

First Published in India in 1985

© Subhash Parihar, 1984

Subhash **Parihar** (b. 1953—)

Published in India by

M.C. Mittal

INTER-INDIA PUBLICATIONS

WZ-96V, Raja Garden

NEW DELHI-110015

(India)

Printed in India by

B.N. Printers, Rampura, Delhi

at Mohan Printing Corporation, Delhi-110035

To
Surinder Pal Kaur

Foreword

MUCH has already been written about the political history of the north-western India during the Mughal period. But the rich architectural heritage of the region has been badly ignored.

Mr. Subhash Parihar took this matter up. I have been a very close observer throughout his research work on the subject. He has widely travelled the region and studied its Mughal monuments in person. The result of his efforts is before us—a carefully and systematically documented study.

That the author possesses high intellectual capability is beyond doubt as I have myself supervised his M. Phil. research work. Besides an art historian, Mr. Parihar is also a painter and photographer of proven merit. Beautiful, self-exposed plates in this book stand testimony to his dexterity in photography.

I hope the readers will receive this illuminating work of the author cordially.

Simla-5
July, 1984

Dr. M.S. AHLUWALIA

Acknowledgements

THIS book is a revised version of my M. Phil. thesis submitted at the Himachal Pradesh University, Simla.

I am grateful to a number of persons who took a keen interest in the progress of my work, and their help encouraged me in every way.

Words fail me in expressing my hearty gratitude to Dr. M.S. Ahluwalia, Associate Professor, Department of History, Himachal Pradesh University, Simla, for his enlightened guidance and personal interest in the progress of my work.

To my friend S. Hari Singh Purba for polishing the manuscript and other friends who helped me in different ways.

To the staff of the libraries of Himachal Pradesh University, Simla; Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi; Punjab Archives, Patiala and Dwarka Dass Library, Chandigarh.

To all the monument attendants for their active cooperation during my visits.

My sincere thanks are due to my teacher Dr. Kanwarjit Singh Kang who has always been my guide and preceptor; to my wife Navrati who has shared the trying moments of life with me as best as she could; to my daughters Manjit (Mona) and Surinder (Babbu) whose affection has always led me on.

*Kot Kapura
December, 1984*

SUBHASH PARIHAR

Introduction

"THE architectural styles of the past ages", writes the famous German author, J.W. Goethe, "are an invitation to study the rules of a dead language". In India, fortunately, a large number of Muhammedan buildings of these obsolete styles still exist in spite of the ravages of time and vandalism. The ages that created them have long past. It is nevertheless a fact that we can still detect in them the style and spirit of a period, the language of which (as Goethe suggests) is extinct, but which still have much to communicate to us.

The period of the effervescence of the Mughal rule in India, i.e., from the advent of Babur in 1526 A.D. to the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., covering a span of almost two centuries, has been very eventful, both politically and culturally. The Mughals were not only great conquerors and administrators but also men of refined tastes, having a deep interest in various branches of 'Fine Arts' including painting, architecture, poetry, music and dance. The modern States of the Punjab and Haryana also saw many far-reaching developments during this rule.

While the history of these two States has been extensively written about, little attention has been paid to the study of various branches of art that flourished here during the Mughal rule.

It was during this period that some of the finest works of architecture, ever created in India appeared on the face of the earth. British scholars like Fergusson, Cunningham, Keene, Cole, E.W. Smith, Rodgers, Marshall, Havell, V.A. Smith, and Percy Brown have studied the Mughal architecture and their pioneer works have, undoubtedly, laid the foundations for the advanced studies of the subject. However, but for a few archaeological reports, none of these scholars has referred to the Mughal monuments in the Punjab and Haryana. They had such a vast sphere to cover under their survey that for all their exhaustive efforts they could not but focus on the outstanding monuments only.

Undoubtedly, Mughal architecture reached its zenith with the monuments at Delhi and Agra, however, a considerable number of the monuments of the first grade lie in the States under reference. Nowhere in India, for instance, are there such exquisite specimens of Mughal sarais as we come across in these States. Out of more than fifty Mughal monuments which I came across during my tour of the said States, very few have been 'protected' by the Archaeological Survey of India and State Archaeological Departments while the rest are crumbling with

regrettable rapidity. An immediate study and documentation of these monuments is called for. This concise work is the first humble endeavour towards this direction.

It is primarily the *propria persona* study which has provided the basic data for the work. This data has been supplemented and authenticated, and conclusions reinforced by contemporary chronicles, accounts of foreign travellers, literary sources, archaeological reports and epigraphic evidence.

SUBHASH PARIHAR

Recd. from Inter-India Publications, New Delhi. Bill No. IIP/016/88 dtd. 26/4/88 pxc
No 3507.

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>Introduction</i>	xi
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xiv
1. Historical Background	1
2. Gardens	9
3. Saraïs	18
4. Tombs	28
5. Mosques and Other Monuments	40
<i>Appendix</i>	
Some Extinct Mughal Gardens in the Punjab and Haryana	51
<i>Glossary</i>	54
<i>Bibliography</i>	58
<i>Index</i>	62

List of Illustrations

[See Illustrations at the end of the book]

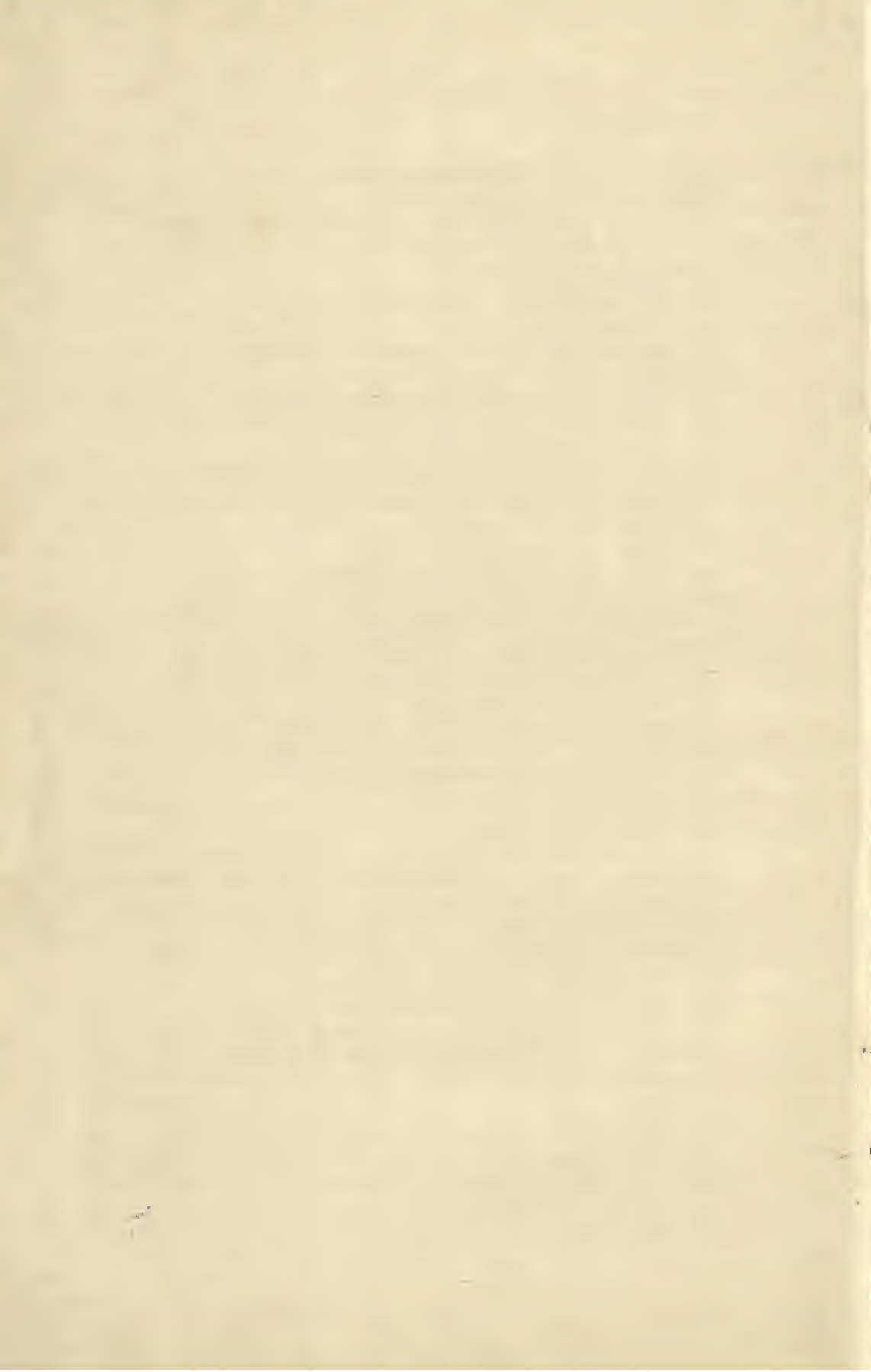
Colour

- I. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh; Sheesh Mahal
- II. Sarai Nurmahal : Western Gateway
- III. Sarai Nurmahal : A carved panel depicting elephants
- IV. Sarai Amanat Khan : Western Gateway
- V. Sarai Amanat Khan : Eastern Gateway; A glazed tile panel
- VI. Sarai Amanat Khan : Mosque in the courtyard
- VII. Dakhini Sarai : A distant view
- VIII. Doraha Sarai : Northern Gateway
- IX. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan
- X. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan
- XI. Nakodar : Tomb of Ustad
- XII. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird
- XIII. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird; A glazed tile panel
- XIV. Kalanaur : Takhat-i-Akbari
- XV. Narnaul : Jal Mahal
- XVI. Khawaja Sarai : Mughal Bridge over Budhiawala Nala

Monochrome

1. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh; Sheesh Mahal
2. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh; Daulat Khana-i-Khas
3. Pinjore Garden : The Cascade below Baradari
4. Pinjore Garden : Rang Mahal
5. Pinjore Garden : Water Palace from Rang Mahal
6. Sarai Nurmahal : Western Gateway
7. Sarai Nurmahal : Carving depicting elephants
8. Sarai Nurmahal : Carving depicting human figures
9. Sarai Nurmahal : Carving depicting birds in a floral design
10. Sarai Nurmahal : Geometrical design
11. Sarai Nurmahal : Inscription
12. Gharaunda Sarai : Southern Gateway
13. Gharaunda Sarai : Southern Gateway; Stalactite design
14. Gharaunda Sarai : Northern Gateway
15. Sarai Amanat Khan : A glazed tile panel
16. Dakhini Sarai : Eastern Gateway
17. Dakhini Sarai : Western Gateway; Inner side

18. Doraha Sarai : Glazed tile decoration
19. Doraha Sarai : Projected Chhajja
20. Doraha Sarai : Northern Gateway; Brick work in the ceiling
21. Sarai Lashkari Khan : Eastern Gateway
22. Hissar : A Tomb
23. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Hussain Khan
24. Narnaul : Tripolia
25. Narnaul : Tripolia; Painted design on the ceiling
26. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan
27. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan; Lattice work
28. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Bahadur Khan
29. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan
30. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan; Painted decoration
31. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan; Geometrical Design of Swastikas
32. Jhajjar : Group of Tombs
33. Jhajjar : The Earliest Tomb
34. Jhajjar : Tomb of Mian Raib; Inscription
35. Jhajjar : The Fifth Tomb
36. Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chhillie
37. Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chhillie; Lattice work
38. Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chhillie; A carved design
39. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird
40. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird; Glazed tile work
41. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird; Glazed tile work
42. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Mosque; Gateway
43. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Mosque
44. Kaithal : Jama Masjid
45. Thanesar : Chiniwali Masjid
46. Sadhora : Mosque of Abdul Wahab
47. Kalanaur : Takhat-i-Akbari
48. Narnaul : Jal Mahal
49. Buria : Rang Mahal
50. Buria : Rang Mahal; Painted designs
51. Buria : Rang Mahal; Painted Elephant
52. Narnaul : Lala Rai Mukand Ka Chhatta; Gateway
53. Narnaul : Lala Rai Mukand Ka Chhatta; Stalactites
54. Thanesar : Madarasa
55. Narnaul : Baoli
56. Narnaul : Baoli; Arcade
57. Mehm : Baoli
58. Sirhind : Mughal Bridge
59. Nuruddin : Kos Minar
60. Jhajjar : Shah Kamal Ghazi's Tank,





Historical Background

THE development of early Islamic architecture, like its other arts was a continuous process of absorption and transformation. The nomad Arabs of Hijaz had neither sculptors, nor architects, nor any schools of art.¹ They borrowed their builders from Rome, Byzantium and Persia.² The fusion of these three schools, under the conditions laid down by Islamic law, produced what is known as Islamic architecture.³ In its origin, therefore, Islamic architecture was "a simple aggregate adapted by Islam from the techniques of the people under its dominion."⁴

In spite of different coloured strands, the unity in Islamic art was due to the fact that though its material texture was fashioned differently in different countries yet its spiritual complexion, remaining the same all the time, was derived from Arabia.⁵

By the time the Turkish conquerors appeared on the Indian scene, in the last decade of the twelfth century, Islamic architecture, after passing through its experimental stages, had built an identifiable architectural vocabulary. The structural problems had been solved and the suitable disposition of the various parts of the buildings had been finally established.⁶ The characteristic features of the architecture brought to India by its Turkish conquerors included the dome for roofs, pointed arch for spanning openings and *minar* or tower for summoning the faithful to prayer.⁷

Pre-Islamic Indian builders could boast of one of the world's most ancient traditions of technique and design. The indigenous style of architecture they developed was based on the principle of beam and bracket.⁸ Their buildings were characterised by flat roofs, corbel brackets, tapering domes, arches built on cantilever principle, eaves and narrow columns, pillars and pilasters. Obviously, the prevailing ideas, forms and methods of construction in India were in marked contrast with those introduced by its Turkish conquerors. But gradually the foreign and indigenous strands were woven together inextricably. The buildings which thus came up were a result of the following factors.

In the first place, the Turkish conquerors had to utilize the skill of the indigenous artisans of India. This laid the foundations of a

"tradition of give and take between the rather austere traditions of Islamic building and sculptural skills of the local Hindu stone masons".⁹ Indian artisans unconsciously introduced into Muslim buildings many decorative and architectural details, so much so that "there is hardly a form or motif of Indian architecture which in some guise or other did not find its way into the buildings of the conquerors".¹⁰

Secondly, the early Muslims did not hesitate to pull down the Hindu and the Jain temples and use them as quarries for raw material, needed to build their mosques, palaces and tombs.¹¹

Thirdly, though there was a striking contrast in the buildings in the Hindu and the Muslim styles, yet there were some points where the two styles converged. Taking advantage of the resemblances, Turkish rulers sometimes converted the Hindu and the Jain temples by replacing a flat roof with domes and minarets.

Again, a common link between the two styles was the fact that both, the Islamic as well as the Hindu art, were inherently decorative. Ornament was as vital to the one as to the other; both were dependant upon it for their very being.¹²

The qualities of grandeur and spaciousness, unknown to the Hindu architect, were exclusively due to their Muhammadan heritage. Muhammadans introduced the use of concrete and mortar,¹³ indispensable for constructing true arches and domes. But the Muhammadan buildings in India owed their qualities of strength and grace to the Hindu architecture.¹⁴ The result of the fusion of these two styles was the genesis of the Indo-Islamic architecture.

Percy Brown categorised the buildings which thus came up during the Muhammadan supremacy in India, into three main styles : ¹⁵ (1) the Delhi or Imperial, (2) the Provincial, and (3) the Mughal. The first of these styles was associated with the Sultanate at the capital city, the centre of Imperial power. The second of these styles, the Provincial, refers to those modes of building practised in some of the more self-contained portions of the country. As after Timur's invasion which dissipated the Tughlaq rule, some provincial governors threw off their allegiance to Delhi. In some instances these provincial styles were more expressive and fascinating than their parent style of Delhi. These provincial manifestations in most instances prevailed for a period partly contemporary with the Sultanate of Delhi and partly with that of the Mughals until the latter brought the whole of India under their rule. The third style, the Mughal, was the accomplished form of Indo-Islamic architecture, which emerged after the middle of the sixteenth century and continued to flourish until the sun of the Mughal empire set in the eighteenth century.

The Delhi or Imperial Style

The building projects of Qutbu'd-Din Aibak, the founder of the early Turkish dynasty, foreshadowed a notable movement in the sphere of architectural design and its method of construction. The first mosque at Delhi, the Quwwat-ul-Islam (Might of Islam), was fabricated out of the material of twenty-seven temples.¹⁶ It is simply a makeshift structure. The first surviving example of a truly Islamic order erected on the Indian soil, however, is the arched screen across its western side.

This screen seems to have been a joint venture between local Hindu master builders and Muslim overseers. Since the Hindu craftsmen, employed, were unfamiliar to the construction of arches, they built them by the method of corbelling, i.e., by first creating the rough multiple bracketed opening and then chiselling away the objectionable corners to create a smooth profile.

After Qutbu'd-Din Aibak's death in 1210 A.D., his son-in-law and successor Iltutmish completed the Qutb Minar, which may possibly have been commenced by Aibak himself.¹⁷ The first use of a typical Islamic architectural feature 'stalactite' appears under the tiers of galleries round the Qutb Minar. This feature continued to be used down to the end of the Mughal period, although it was gradually reduced to a purely decorative element.

A spherical dome cannot be erected on a square structure without manipulating the corners of the room below. Three methods adopted in India to affect the transition from the square of the room to the circle of the dome were the use of squinch, pendentive and stalactite. The contrivance employed in Iltutmish's tomb (Dec. 1235) was the one, known as 'squinch', an arch built diagonally across the corners of a square building, converting it into an octagon which could easily support a circular dome.

The tomb of Balban, dating about 1280 A.D., has the pride of place where the true arch, produced by means of radiating voussoirs, first appeared in India.¹⁸ However, in spite of the introduction of true arch, the corbelled arch did not become out of fashion and continued to be used side by side till the end of the Mughal rule.

The building schemes initiated by Ala-ud-Din Khalji mark a decisive advance in the field of architecture. In the Alai Darwaza, a noble south gateway to the incomplete mosque enclosure (c. 1310), he has left us a captivating and exquisite building. This gateway, though modest in size, evinces the culmination of early Indo-Islamic architecture. In general character and ornament, it is Persian, but the Hindu tradition may be seen in the design of the shafts.¹⁹

This structure herald two distinctive features that were to continue to nourish Islamic architecture in India for centuries to come. The

first of these is the blending of red sandstone and white marble as facing materials. Decorative use of the false storeys on the exterior was another of its characteristic features. This basic format was followed by the Sayyids and Lodis for their square tombs. The style lingered in the Punjab and Haryana even in the buildings erected during Humayun's reign.

Of the Tughlaq rulers, Ghiyas-ud-din, Muhammad Shah and Feroz Shah took interest in the art of building. The first Tughlaq monument, the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din forms a landmark in the development of Indo-Islamic architecture.

This tomb is a square structure with sharply sloping walls and crowned with a white marble dome. A notable contrivance appears for the first time in this tomb. In its doorway opening, a redundant stone beam is installed just below the springing of the arch, thus combining in construction the two principles of support, the arch and the beam. Though technically irrational, this architectural compromise became an elegant and effective device and continued to be used in the subsequent styles with remarkable effect.²⁰ The pointed shape of its dome afterwards became characteristic of the Indo-Islamic style. The distinctive 75 degree camber of its outer walls, which was the dominant feature of the brick architecture of Multan, survived for centuries.

It was for Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani (Dec. c. 1368-69) that an octagonal tomb was built for the first time in India. There is possibility that the Khan was inspired by the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam at Multan which he once held as his fief. The octagonal configuration had an advantage in that unlike a square structure, a dome could be built over the building without the use of any squinch, pendentive or stalactite. The tomb is experimental in nature as is evident from its crude and imperfect proportions. Each side of its octagonal verandah is pierced by three arches over which projects a wide *chhajja* or eaves, an early application of this typically Hindu element.²¹ It added a new dimension to the otherwise plain surfaces of Islamic architecture in India and henceforth, it was steadily maintained.

Another innovation in this tomb was the imposition of a cupola on each angle of the octagon. This feature helped in providing an interesting skyline. Obviously, the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani is a forerunner of mausolea of octagonal shape which were to form the glory of Indian art.

The Sayyids and Lodis excelled in memorials to the dead, which now began to assume the character of "cloistered garths surrounding a central monumental pile."²² Here onwards, two distinct prototypes of tomb building developed—octagonal and square. The octagonal

configuration caught the fancy of royalty, the square type being reserved for nobles and others of high rank.²³

The tomb of Sikandar Lodi (1517 A.D.) at Khairpur (Delhi) forms a connecting link between the fortified walls surrounding the earlier type of tomb and the extensive terraced garden enclosing a Mughal tomb.²⁴

The double dome appears in this tomb for the first time in India.²⁵ This contrivance consists of two different shells of masonry—the inner and the outer one, separated by a void. It enables to preserve the lofty effect by raising the external shell to a satisfactory height as well as to avoid a deep well of darkness in the room below with a low ceiling.

Among the most notable Delhi mosques of the early sixteenth century is the beautiful Moth-ki-Masjid (1505 A.D.). It is a remarkable composition with high blank walls flanked by arcaded pavilions. The shape and proportions of the five main arches of the facade and the emphasis given to the central bay, the spacing, disposition and volume of the three domes are some of its distinct and pleasing features.²⁶ Its facade is finished in red sandstone set with grey granite and quartzose creating a graceful effect. In its side aisles, a form of stalactite pendentive is introduced, a structural and ornamental combination of striking elegance.²⁷

The most remarkable feature of the Qila i-Quhna Masjid (1550 A.D.), built by Sher Shah Sur, is the balanced perfection of its facade. This mosque served as a prototype to be developed by the Mughals. Also, about this time, the four-centred arch appeared on the Indian scene.

Provincial Styles

The principal provincial styles are eight in number, each named after the region in which it developed, viz., Punjab, Bengal, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Malwa, Deccan, Bijapur and Khandesh and Kashmir.

The earliest provincial style to emerge and with which we are mainly concerned, was that in the Punjab (1150-1325 A.D.) as here the first contacts with Islam were made through its two main centres, the cities of Lahore and Multan.²⁸ The architecture of the region was mainly of brickwork of a remarkably fine quality, building stone being rare in the plains of the Punjab. It was the custom to reinforce this brickwork by means of wooden beams inserted into the walls. The brick and timber walls were sloped to provide greater stability. Glazed tiles in brilliant colours adorned parts of these plastered buildings.

But for some remains of timber constructions, there are no complete examples of the art of building of this period (1150-1325 A.D.) in Lahore. But in Multan five tombs dating from the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century are still standing.²⁹

Percy Brown describes some common features of this group of tombs in the following words :

"All are built of brick and there is a certain amount of woodwork in more than one of them, while glazed tiles find a place in decoration. The first-four are square in plan, but the largest and the most important of all and the final example of the series, that of Shah Rukn-i-Alam is octagonal and has a pronounced sloping outline in its lower storey".³⁰

Mughal Style

With the first battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D., India passed into the hands of the Mughals who introduced new cultural trends. They were tolerant and scarcely sought advice of the *ulema*. They introduced "a spirit of cultural eclecticism, almost against the theocratic conception of Islam".³¹ The Indian builder fully availed himself of this eclecticism of the Mughals. He combined "the superb exuberance and grandeur of the indigenous art with the vitality and dynamism of the new inspiration which the patrons most aesthetically provided".³²

Babur during his short rule of four years commenced a large number of building projects, chiefly in the form of ornamental gardens and similar pleasancess. Unluckily, most of his works could not withstand the ravages of time and vandalism, and crumbled. It is interesting to note that the first of his few surviving buildings, the Kabuli Bagh Mosque lies in Haryana at Panipat. Formal garden was his greatest contribution to Indian art.³³ His love of order and symmetry was communicated in full measure to his worthy successors.

Humayun's contribution to Mughal architecture was somewhat indirect in nature. His sojourn while a fugitive from India at the court of Shah Tahmasp was a means of bringing some significant Persian architectural traditions into Hindustan.³⁴

The style of building that evolved under Akbar's patronage, in its appearance but not in structure, was "arcuate and trabeate" in almost equal proportions. It is also possible to see by its character that it was not far removed from a wooden archetype, a method of construction that was still practised in the more northern parts of Hindustan as may be observed in the secular architecture of the Punjab at such places as Lahore, Chiniot, and also in Kashmir".³⁵

Jahangir was obsessed more with the art of painting and laying out gardens than with building activity. But it was during his rule that his wife Nurjahan replaced the "dignified austerity of Akbar's sandstone architecture with the flamboyance and lustre of pure white Makrana marble".³⁶

What Jahangir achieved for painting, his son and successor Shah Jahan did for architecture. His interest in building activity is testified by his court historian Abdul Hamid Lahori when he says, "The majority of the buildings of his abode he designs himself and in the design prepared by clever masons after a long consideration he makes appropriate alterations and asks proper questions".³⁷ Condoning exaggeration this much is evident that Shah Jahan had a keen interest in his building projects.

In his buildings he brought complete lucidity and coherence in their architectural effect. The austere pointed arch gave way to the cusped arch. This feature first appeared in the screen of the Arai Din ka Jhompra at Ajmer and a small gateway at Tughlaqabad. It imbued the buildings of Shah Jahan with a feeling of sensuousness. Besides, the horizontal lines of the *chhajjas*, in consonance with the arches below and the kiosks and domes above, were curved in the middle and bent and extremely projected at the ends.

During this time an entirely different regional mode, influenced by the architectural style of Persia manifested itself in the more northerly portions of Shah Jahan's dominion. The city of Lahore was the centre of this development. The chief characteristic of the style was the exterior decoration covering most of its surfaces, which consisted of patterns in glazed tiles of brilliant colours.

Aurangzeb, however, broke away completely from the artistic trends of his dynasty, as a result of which architecture, like every other art, declined during his long reign. Accounting for the decline, Coomaraswamy says "that the Mughal architecture, however splendid, was an artificial growth dependant on personal patronage, and not, like the Hindu art, a direct product of the local conditions".³⁸ But to Percy Brown, the deterioration of the style was inevitable as it was the result of the diminishing influence of the ruling power, which Aurangzeb's bigotry only served to accelerate.³⁹

It was against this background that the Mughal monuments were erected in the States of the Punjab and Haryana. The capital cities of Delhi, Agra and Lahore were fountainheads of architectural inspiration.

REFERENCES

1. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1932, p. 154.
2. E.B. Havell, *A Handbook of Indian Art*, Delhi, 1974, p. 6.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Andre Godard, *The Art of Iran*, London, 1965, p. 254.
5. A.H. Christie, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931, p. 108.
6. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1975, p. 2.
7. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, London, 1913, p. 215.

- A.U. Pope is of the opinion that some fundamental forms of Iranian architecture, like the pointed and trefoil arches, the transverse vault, the octagonal form of the building, the dome, etc., had their origin in India, but these were developed to perfection in Iran. ("Some Inter-relations between Persian and Indian Architecture", *Indian Arts and Letters*, IX, London, 1935, 107-08.)
8. In this system all spaces are spanned by means of beams laid horizontally as distinct from arches.
 9. Satish Grover, *The Architecture of India (Islamic)*, Delhi, 1981, p. xxii.
Percy Brown goes to the extent of suggesting that the real excellence of the Indo-Islamic architecture was due to this factor — "the living knowledge and skill possessed by the Indian craftsmen, particularly in the art of working stone, in which they were unequalled. (*loc. cit.*)
 10. Sir John Marshall, "The Monuments of Muslim India" in *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, Wolseley Haig (ed.), Delhi, 1965, p. 571.
 11. As many as twenty-seven temples were pulled down to supply stone for the first mosque at Delhi, i.e., the Quwwat ul-Islam, (Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, Delhi, 1967, p. 25).
 12. Marshall, *loc. cit.*
 13. *Ibid.*
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
 16. Edward Thomas, *loc. cit.*
 17. Martin S. Briggs, "Muslim Architecture in India" in *A Cultural History of India*, A.L. Basham (ed.), Oxford, 1975, p. 316.
 18. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
 19. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
 20. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
 25. An attempt in this direction had been already made in the tomb of Shihab-ud-din Taj Khan, but it is in the tomb of Sikandar Lodi (c. 1518 A.D.) that the double dome becomes an accomplished fact. (*Ibid.*, p. 27).
 26. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. These tombs are as follows : (1) Shah Yusuf Gardizi (1152); (2) Shah Bahau-l-Haqq, died 1262; (3) Sadna Shahid, died 1270; (4) Shah Shams-ud-din Tabrizi, died 1276; (5) Shah Rukn-i-Alam (1320-24). (*Ibid.*, p. 33).
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. R. Nath, *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 4.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 33. R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 5.
 34. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
 36. Satish Grover, *op. cit.*, p. xv.
 37. *Badshah-Nama*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1868, pp. 144-154, cited by R. Nath, *Some Aspects*, p. 153.
 38. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
 39. *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

Gardens

FLOWERS and gardens have been admired in India since antiquity.¹ Early Buddhist literature and the Sanskrit plays have a multitude of references to gardens.² This early practice "in later times and moister climates developed into the well-known charming landscape styles of China and Japan".³ But the splendid garden tradition which culminated under the Great Mughals, was introduced into India from Central Asia and Persia.⁴ Here it "inflected to new conditions without losing its essential characteristics".⁵

Persia had a very old tradition of garden-craft which may be traced as far back as to the Sasanian period (224-650 A.D.).⁶ This craft received impetus in the Muslim period, so much so that an underground aqueduct was brought from a great distance to supply water to the walled-in garden at Qasr-al Hair, dated 728-29 A.D.⁷ The writings of early Persian poets are full of references of delight in gardens and their flowers.⁸ In the preface to his work *Gulistan* (The Garden), the poet Saadi writes : "Mature considerations as to the arrangements of the book made me deem it expedient that this delicate garden, and this densely wooded grove should, like Paradise, be divided into eight parts in order that it may become less likely to fatigue".⁹

The Persian garden, almost as a rule, was a walled-in enclosure,¹⁰ as it excluded wild beasts and marauders. It created a little enclosed and concentrated ideal kingdom and was called, and appropriately so, a *Paradaiza* (paradise).¹¹ The plan of the garden used to be a regular arrangement of four squares, often subdivided into smaller plots with a lily pond or pleasure pavilion in the centre.¹² This was called *char-bagh* plan. Water was the *raison d'être* of the garden.¹³ It was manipulated beautifully in canals, lakes, ponds, cascades, jets of water and waterfalls.¹⁴ Canals and tanks were so constructed as to keep the water brimming to the level of the paths on either side.¹⁵

The Sultans of Delhi showed a considerable interest in laying out gardens. Firuz Shah Tughlaq is said to have restored a number of gardens planted by Ala-ud-din Khalji and laid out a large number of

his own in the vicinity of Delhi.¹⁶ But it seems that, hitherto, the gardens have been more or less in the form of groves or orchards.

It was the Mughals who brought the formal garden tradition into India which they had imbibed from their Persian background. And by gradual diffusion with different strands of Indo-Islamic, Rajput, Kashmiri and Gujarati cultures, the tradition developed into a native style with the Persian connection always linking the whole together.¹⁷

The Mughal empire was at its zenith in the northern India during the reign of the six emperors, from Babur to Aurangzeb. Gardening was a hobby with the emperors and their noblemen.¹⁸ All along, the successive emperors, their wives and noblemen laid out a great many gardens in northern India. At least eight of them were planted during the period under review in the States of the Punjab and Haryana.¹⁹ Of these, only the following two survive to-date.

Aam Khas Bagh at Sirhind

The earliest extant Mughal garden all over the Punjab and Haryana is the one at Sirhind, currently known as the *Aam Khas Bagh*.²⁰ In fact, it is a garden, a palace and a royal sarai, all in one. The origin of this garden can be traced to the period of Akbar.

Sultan Hafiz Rakhna of Herat, the then *shiqdar* (superintendent) of Sirhind, laid out this garden and erected many other buildings which according to Badaoni, had no parallel in Hind.²¹ In the *Akbar Nama*, his name appears in the list of officers who served the State during Humayun's exile.²²

The first reference to the garden that we come across, was made by Father S.J. Monserrate,²³ the leader of the first Jesuit Mission to the court of Akbar. He visited Sirhind in 1580 A.D. and saw the garden for himself. Since Akbar who visited the city in 1556 A.D., does not make any mention of it,²⁴ this garden appears to have been laid out, most probably, sometime between 1556 and 1580 A.D.

After Hafiz Rakhna's death in 1000 A.H./1592 A.D.,²⁵ this garden passed through many hands. In 1617 A.D., Jahangir appointed Khwaja Waisi, the *karori* (collector of reserved revenue) of Sirhind to keep up the garden, because he was well acquainted with the science of horticulture as well as of buildings.²⁶ He was specially instructed by the emperor to remove all the trees that had no freshness and to put in fresh ones, to clean up the *iraqbandi* ²⁷ to repair the old buildings and to erect new ones in the shape of baths, etc., in appropriate places.

In the *Badshahnama*, Abdul Hamid Lahori records Shah Jahan's five visits to Sirhind. On his visit in 1628 A.D. he stayed here for five days.²⁸ During his stay, he ordered the erection of a few more buildings including *Daulat Khana-i-Khas* (personal palace), *Jharokha Mubarik*

(lattice window), *Khabgah* (sleeping apartments) and *Mehtabi Chabutara* (moonlit platform) on the sides of the tank.²⁹

With the advent of Aurangzeb, a puritan zealot, an era of religious persecution commenced. After the martyrdom of Guru Gobind Singh's innocent children at the hands of Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, in 1704 A.D., this city attracted the wrath of the Sikhs. In 1708 A.D., Banda Bahadur sacked Sirhind and killed Wazir Khan. Later, this city was plundered many times by the irate bands of the Sikhs, the last being in 1763 A.D. when Sirhind was annihilated.³⁰ It is, therefore, obvious that the Aam Khas Bagh must also have suffered at the hands of the Sikhs.³¹

The northern gate served as the main entrance to the first and second enclosures. From this gate begins the first quadrangle of the garden complex, 179 m. by 122 m. in area. It is enclosed by a four metre high wall of brick, adorned with serrated battlements. Each of the four corners of this enclosure is marked by a projected octagonal bastion surmounted by a domed pavilion. On the inner side of the gateway is an extension of the gate, in the form of a house. It appears to be a much later addition made probably when this gate was no longer in use as an entrance.

In the centre of this first quadrangle is the *Mehtabi Chabutara*, raised under the orders of Shah Jahan.³² It is a double terraced square platform. On each of its sides is a water chute, down which water rippled from one level to the other. As per its very name, from this platform the emperor may have used to enjoy the spectacle of a moonlit night. Also, here he may have held his court in the open.

Through an opening in the southern wall of the first enclosure, we enter the second one which measures 183 m. by 145 m. In its centre is a tank, 98 m. by 85 m. in span with a flight of eight steps on all the four sides. An arched bridge passes over it. This bridge has an octagonal platform in its centre and two screen walls on its eastern and western sides.

Monserate mentions a tower in the middle of the tank, from which a pleasant view of the tank and the surrounding garden could be enjoyed.³³ To William Finch, it was a 'summer house'.³⁴ Fray Sebastian Manrique who came here in 1641 A.D., describes it as a 'circular chapel'.³⁵ All the above views considered, the only possibility of a structure in the midst of the tank can be that of a summer house. At present only an octagonal platform stands in the centre of the tank.

But for Shah Jahan, who visited the garden in 1628 A.D.³⁶ and also afterwards, visitors describe the tank to have been full of water.³⁷ However, Shah Jahan in the *Badshahnama* laments that it could never be filled with water.³⁸ Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq had cut a canal to Sirhind in 1360 A.D.³⁹ when he recast it into a separate district.⁴⁰ Upto Jahangir's reign this tank was filled up, presumably, by the

irrigation channels from this Sirhind canal of Firuz Tughlaq. The canal may have gone dead sometime before Shah Jahan's ascending to the throne. Then after his visit and under his orders, Kandi Beg connected it with a canal to Sutlej.⁴¹

Adjoining the northern wall of the second enclosure is a double-storeyed building, known as *Sheesh Mahal* (hall of mirrors), constructed under the orders of Shah Jahan⁴² (Illus. I & 1). It has a simple arrangement of rooms on both the floors and is covered with three double domes. These domes were once embellished with coloured glazed tiles, traces of which still remain. This structure embodies all the stylistic innovations of Shah Jahan's period, i.e., cusped arch, bent cornice and curved roof.

Opposite to the Sheesh Mahal, across the tank, is a large suite of rooms, known as *Naughara* (lit. having nine rooms). This building completely identifies in location with the Khabgah, ordered to be constructed by Shah Jahan during his first visit in 1628 A.D.

Adjoining the eastern and western walls that enclose the second part of the garden, are continuous suites of small rooms meant perhaps for the retinue that accompanied the emperor during his visit. Most of the rooms of this portion are now in ruins and the remaining have been modified to provide quarters for government employees.

It may be inferred from the preceding paragraphs that although the tank existed at this place, but both the first and the second enclosures were added to the garden by the orders of Shah Jahan.

Coming out of the Naughara on the southern side, where the second enclosure ends, we enter the open garden which was once surrounded by a high wall.⁴³ The garden was divided into four squares.⁴⁴ There is a gateway in the northern wall of this open garden, at its present eastern extremity. It appears to have served as an original entrance to the remaining part of the garden in the complex. Manrique describes the existence of 'four majestic and splendid gateways'.⁴⁵ However, no trace is found of the other gateways which were perhaps in the centre of the other three walls, not extant now.

In front of the Naughara is a small tank and a few steps hence, runs a flagged causeway punctuated by a row of fountains. That 'very beautiful street or avenue' described by Manrique⁴⁶ and Finch,⁴⁷ most probably existed in front of the northern gate of the garden. Later discussion about the buildings tends to confirm this view.

At the end of the said causeway is a hammam (bath suite), most probably built under the orders of Jahangir.⁴⁸ It is a block of three inter-connected rooms. Two furnaces still survive in the western side of the hammam, having chimney holes above. There is a water tank in the north-west corner of the hammam, from and to which lead a number of

terracotta pipes, running through the masonry walls. However, nothing can be said with certainty about the working of the hammam.

To the south-west of the hammam stands a double-storeyed building, known as *Daulat Khana-i-Khas*, now in ruins (Illus. 2). It is a square building comprising a central room, two storeys high, surrounded by smaller rooms. In the middle of the central room is an octagonal tank. The south-west corner of the room is occupied by an alcove wall, used to place small lamps. When water fell from above in front of these lamps in the form of a plate, these reflected through it thus offering a panoramic view. The whole building was painted with graceful patterns in bright colours, the traces of which still survive.⁴⁹

At a distance of about 20 m. to the north-west of the Daulat Khana-i-Khas is the building known as *Sarad Khana* (cool palace). It comprises one central room and four others. The northern side of the building is attached to a well. This building also has a complex system of tanks and water-channels running through almost all its walls. The walls of the rooms had painted decorations, the traces of which are still extant. Such a Sarad Khana was "appropriated to the pleasures of the voluptuous Mogul, and his favourites in the haram".⁵⁰

In the south-west corner of the present garden are some traces of a structure, known as *Rang Mahal*. In all probability the palace described by William Finch,⁵¹ Jahangir⁵² and Manrique⁵³ is the same building virtually reduced to a heap of bricks. William Finch describes it as "an eight square mohol with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire tank; over these, eight other rooms, with faire galleries round about; on the top of all a faire jointer; the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving, and rich pargetting.....".⁵⁴

The above inference is based on the fact that the ruins of this extinct Rang Mahal are exactly in alignment with the northern gateway of the garden from which led the main causeway. William Finch indicates the location of this palace at the crossing of the two main causeways.⁵⁵ The other causeway, then, most probably, was that which joined the eastern and the western gateways.

Wells were the major source of water for the garden. Two of these still exist. The parapet of the wells was constructed very high so that their water flowed through the channels topping the enclosing wall of the garden. From these high channels water rippled down the chutes and gushed out of the fountains in solid plumes. Hence it flowed leisurely in the ground channels, finally falling into the main tank.

In addition to the other decorations, the flower and fruit trees multiplied the charm of the garden. The Aam Khas Bagh abounded in the fruit trees so much so that it was rented yearly for fifty thousand rupees.⁵⁶

Pinjore Garden

Situated on the Chandigarh-Kalka road, at a distance of 26 km. from Chandigarh, is the celebrated Mughal garden at Pinjore. It was laid out by Fidai Khan Koka, the foster brother of Aurangzeb, during the seventeenth century.⁵⁷

Pinjore is related by legend to Pandavas⁵⁸ and a garden here is reputed to have been destroyed by Timur.⁵⁹ Taking advantage of a natural slope running down to the Ghaggar torrent, this garden was laid out here in six terraces "in faithful tradition of Shalimar".⁶⁰

It is said that Fidai Khan did not live here long and his flight from Pinjore is ascribed to a curious story.⁶¹ After his flight, the garden passed to the Raja of Bhiwana and from him to the Raja of Sirmaur.⁶² The Patiala house bought the garden along with a considerable area for Rs. 60,000.⁶³ The garden, at some later date, was rechristened Yadvindra Garden, after the Late Maharaja of Patiala State.

The main gateway which is to the east, leads to a rectangular platform, having seats on three sides. The usual Mughal plan is reversed in this garden as on entering it, we face down instead of up the main canal. From here stretches the first terrace of the garden. At the back of the central seat, a spring rises through a stone vase, filling the long canal with dancing ripples. A graceful baradari, having curved roof and small side domes, is built across the stream.

Through a wall flanking the baradari, doors open on to the second terrace, which was *Purdah* garden for the ladies. The water after running beneath the baradari, falls over a projecting ledge, in front of a wall having six rows of fifteen small niches each, once used for placing earthen lamps (Illus. 3). Such niches are present even in the earliest Mughal garden in Agra, i.e., Ram Bagh, laid out by Babur.⁶⁴ The inherent value of their superb effect was gradually recognized by the Mughal garden planners. Hence the vogue. The Aam Khas Bagh also had such niche screens. Their bewitching effect can be visualised from Stuart's following description :

"When the little earthen lamps are lit, they twinkle through the shining falls of water like green glowworms; while the rosy warmth of light within the marble pavilion (the Baradari) gives the illusion of some huge transparent shell, poised above the water fall, its curving back showing dimly against the twilight sky and the darker blue of the mountain beyond".⁶⁵

The second terrace is bound on its western side by the great wide archways of the palace, known as Rang Mahal. This palace is beautifully placed on the wall dividing the upper two terraces from the rest

of the garden below (Illus. 4). It is a great open hall under which flows the main canal. The unsymmetrical super-structure atop the said palace is an eyesore.

The painted decorations of the lower apartments had been destroyed even before Stuart's visit.⁶⁶ But the smallest room on the first floor, according to him, retained its original decoration. "The walls of this room", praises Stuart, "were white, plastered with the old highly polished chanam (lime); and the delicate designs half painted and half moulded, brought back to mind inlaid work of Agra and Delhi.

"The Kashmir lacquer of the ceiling shone fresh as ever...even the old doorways were there, the woodwork painted with bouquets of flowers in vases – always a favourite Mughal design – against a dull green background".⁶⁷ But all the rooms of the upper storey were erected perhaps, by the rulers of Patiala State. Therefore, their decoration belongs to a comparatively modern period.

The water running under the Rang Mahal, after passing over a prominent niche screen, falls into a large tank which is in the middle of a masonry platform, projected halfway into the garden below. From this tank water rippled down a carved stone chute.

From the terrace of the Rang Mahal, steps descend through the thickness of the wall, coming out on the halfway platform and then continue into a second flight leading down to the third terrace. This lower garden has two gateways in the side walls and one at the far end, i.e., in the western wall. This latter gateway "was intended more to complete the design than for any use it served".⁶⁸

On the fourth terrace is a large water tank. A causeway from its southern bank leads to a little water palace, now used as a restaurant. (Illus. 5). It is set slightly to the northern side of the centre of the tank "to leave an uninterrupted view down the main canal from the upper garden".⁶⁹ Fountains play round this little palace. On each side of the tank, Stuart had witnessed a watercourse, even then dry, but which showed him where, in former days, canals from this tank led up to the gateways on the either side.⁷⁰

The planting in all the Mughal gardens, including this one, "can only be guessed at from contemporary paintings and memoirs, for it is in this respect that the Mughal gardens have most profoundly changed today, but it was clearly a luxuriance which needed unlimited supplies of both water and labour for its realization".⁷¹

The whole garden is enclosed by a crenellated wall, once marked by an octagonal tower at each of its corners.⁷² After a careful examination of the enclosing wall, Rodgers concluded that they were originally made of the debris of ancient buildings.⁷³ He had seen for himself fragments of sculptures, built in the wall.⁷⁴

REFERENCES

1. C.M.V. Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London, 1913, p. 3.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Sylvia Crowe, "The Persian Background" in *The Gardens of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1973, p. 31.
6. D.N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, Tokyo, 1962, pp. 31 and 34.
7. A person named Seyrig, guided by a villager, was able to follow one underground aqueduct for 30 km. (K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Pelican, 1958, p. 119.)
8. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
10. A.U. Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1930, p. 206.
11. A.U. Pope, *Persian Architecture*, London, 1963, p. 246.
12. Wilber, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
13. R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 2.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
16. *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* in Elliot & Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, (Hindi), Vol. III, Agra, 1974, p. 246.
17. Sheila Haywood, "The Indian Background" in *The Gardens of Mughal India*, p. 27.
18. William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India*, London, 1921, p. 303.
19. For a list of these gardens, see Appendix A.
20. For a detailed study of the garden, see Subhash Parihar, Aam Khas Bagh, Sirhind. (Paper submitted to the Department of Design and Fine Arts, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1980).
21. Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu't Tawarikh*, Vol. II, Tr. W.H. Lowe, Delhi, 1973, pp. 393-94.
22. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1907, p. 451.
23. *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, London, 1922, p. 102.
24. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tubaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, tr. B. De, Calcutta, 1936, p. 323.
25. Al-Badaoni, *loc. cit.*
26. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Book II, tr. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p. 113.
27. The translators of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* are not certain about the meaning of the word. Most probably, it meant 'footpaths'. (*Ibid.*)
28. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah-Nama*, text, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1872, p. 115.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.
30. Sikhs still think it a meritorious act to take away a brick from the ruins of Sirhind and to drop it in Sutlej or Jamuna rivers. (David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, Patiala, 1970, p. 228).
31. When Alexander Cunningham came here in 1860's, the Aam Khas Bagh was being used as a public audience hall by the Patiala royal house. (*Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II, Varanasi, 1972, p. 211).
32. Lahori, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
33. *Op. cit.*, p. 102.
34. He visited India during 1609-11 A.D. (Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 158).
35. E.D. MacLagan, "The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in Punjab in 1641", *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, I, 1911, p. 87.

36. Lahori, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
37. These travellers include William Finch and Fray Sebastian Manrique.
38. Lahori, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
39. Ferishta, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. I, tr. John Briggs, London, 1829, p. 453.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Phulkian State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1909, p. 209. A part of the popular saying of the area refers to Kandi Beg and his canal thus : *Bale O' Raja Kandi, Teri Nahar chale Sirhindi* (Bravo O' King Kandi, here flows your Sirhind Canal).
42. Lahori, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.
43. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
44. Foster, *loc. cit.*
45. Maclagan, *loc. cit.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. Foster, *loc. cit.*
48. Jahangir, *loc. cit.*
49. This building is not to be confused with the Daulat Khana-i-Khas ordered to be constructed by Shah Jahan during his visit in 1628 A.D.
50. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. IV, London, 1813, p. 65.
51. Foster, *loc. cit.*
52. *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir*, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d., p. 233.
53. Maclagan, *loc. cit.*
54. Foster, *loc. cit.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1901, p. XXXVII.
58. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
59. Sheila Haywood, "The Emperors and their Gardens" in *The Gardens of Mughal India*, p. 187.
60. R. Nath, "Landscape Architecture and Gardening of the Mughals", *Marg*, XXVI, Dec. 1972, 24.
61. Fidayi Khan is said to have requested a hill Raja to send his *haram* to the garden for an interview with his wives. The Raja sent of his female servants as were suffering from goitre. Fidayi Khan's wives were terrified on hearing that the climate bred such a disease and persuaded the Khan to leave the place. (*Ambala District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1925, p. 139).
A similar story is narrated by Stuart in his book. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 203-204.)
62. *Ambala District Gazetteer*, p. 138.
63. *Ibid.*
64. R. Nath, "Landscape Architecture, p. 24.
65. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*
71. Sylvia Crowe, "The Mughals in India and Kashmir" in *The Mughal Gardens of Mughal India*, p. 45.
72. Stuart, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
73. Charles Rodgers, *Report of Punjab Circle of A.S.I. for 1888-89*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 30.
74. *Ibid.*

Sarais

THE great distance between the centres of trade and perpetual threats from highwaymen called for some secure shelters for caravans and other travellers. Hence the genesis of sarais. The institution of the sarai has been existing in India, in one form or the other, ever since ancient times.¹ But before the advent of the Mughals, it remains to be affirmed whether or not the sarais in India used to have a typical architectural form. However, the form it attained under the Mughals, was directly inspired by Persian sarais. Therefore, a comparison between the two will be illuminating.

The Persian sarais are square, round or octagonal in plan² whereas the examples found by the surveyor in the States of the Punjab and Haryana, are invariably either square or rectangular. These essentially symmetrical structures in both the lands have their outer walls quite blank.³ The Persian sarais allowed access only through one portal⁴ but the prototypes studied here are invariably provided with two gateways on opposite sides.

In both the specimens the central court is surrounded by open arcades, each side being emphasised by a larger arch to affect the conventional four-ivan plan.⁵ These arcades in Persian examples, sometimes two rooms deep, are often equipped with fire-places for cooking or for warmth in winter,⁶ but no such provision has been made in the case in hand. Both have quarters for guards and attendants.⁷ In the case under study, sarais were not provided with stables as the Persian sarais had been.⁸ Some Persian specimen have a bath, a kitchen, a mosque and special luxury rooms for the travellers of rank.⁹ In the present case, a sarai normally has a mosque and here and there a hammam. The Persian prototypes occasionally have their portals magnificently designed and ornamented.¹⁰ In case of the sarais in the Punjab and Haryana also, it is the architectural and decorative treatment of their gateways where the architects exhibited their utmost expertise and imagination, so much so that these became the keynote of the style.

The Pathan emperor Sher Shah Sur is related to have built sarais

at a distance of every two *kos*.¹¹ Many more sarais are said to have been built during the days of Humayun, along the royal highways, throughout his realm.¹² Abul Fazl mentions the erection of sarais by emperor Akbar.¹³ But the sarais, built this far seem to have been made of impermanent material as is indicated by Jahangir's decree : "...spacious sarais, choultries of places of rest and refreshment substantially built of brick or stone, so as to be secured against early decay, should be erected at the termination of every eight *kos* for the whole distance between Agra and Lahore ...".¹⁴

Some philanthropists also built such sarais as an act of altruism.¹⁵

As the greater part of the old Badshahi Road of Jahangir passed through the States of the Punjab and Haryana,¹⁶ the finest specimen of the sarais built by Jahangir, his successors and other noblemen lie in these two States. Some of the prominent of these sarais have been taken up for a detailed analysis below.

Sarai Nurmahal

About 20 km. to the west of Phillaur is a small town, named after the famous empress of Jahangir, Nurmahal. The local tradition has it that the Empress had been brought up here.

The sarai is 168 m. square from outside including octagonal bastions at corners. The western gateway of the sarai has a grace both of conception and execution (Illus. II & 6). This three storeyed structure has a veneer of red sandstone, with its surface marked into panels. These panels are filled with scenes depicting elephant-riders, fairies, peacocks, elephant-lion fights, camels, rhinos, human beings, etc., all executed in low relief (Illus. III, 7 & 8). This gateway has the pride of place being the only one in India so profusely decorated with such carvings.

The sides of the gateway are embellished with foliated scroll-work with birds sitting in branches (Illus. 9). In addition to these, there are geometrical patterns also (Illus. 10). Angles of the gateway are softened with graceful pilasters, terminating above parapet into open flower pinnacles. These pilasters have chevron pattern carved on them. Projected medallions adorn the spandrels.

What imparts elegance to the whole is perhaps the presence of three beautifully designed balconies, a large one on either side and a smaller one in the centre. These balconies are supported on elephant and peacock shaped brackets. Over the central balcony runs an inscription¹⁷ which furnishes the date of beginning and the completion of the erection of the sarai, i.e., 1618 and 1620 A.D. respectively.

The time-torn eastern gateway also perhaps bore similar decoration. The traces of painted designs can still be seen inside it. On this gateway, too, there was an inscription, a copy of which was

fortunately preserved by one of the inhabitants from whom Cunningham procured and recorded it in his *Report*.¹⁸

In the courtyard of the sarai is a well and a mosque covered with a single dome.

On each side of the courtyard, there were thirty-two rooms,¹⁹ each 3.3 m. square, with a verandah in front of it. In each corner of the sarai were three rooms—one large and two smaller ones—which are still extant in the south-west corner. Three-storeyed apartments in the centre of the southern side were reserved for the emperor.²⁰ The main room was oblong in shape with a semi-octagonal recess in two sides, similar to that in the corner of the section.²¹ At present this section has been appropriated for a school.

The inscription engraved on the right jamb of the western gateway (Illus. 11), has been translated as follows :

“Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakariya Khan, Bahadur, Governor of the district, having exempted them. Should any Fojdar of the Doab collect these dues, may his wives be divorced”.²²

Two of Jahangir's visits to this sarai are on record in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the first during his sixteenth regnal year and the second one during the subsequent year.²³

Sarai at Gharaunda

Located between Panipat and Karnal, on the G.T. Road, is the small town of Gharaunda. To the east of the town, there used to be a Mughal sarai, one of the most beautiful of its kind throughout the northern India. This fact is amply testified by its two extant gateways which were in the middle of the southern and the northern sides. Even these gateways are not complete, a small portion of these having already crumbled.

Beginning with the southern gateway, one finds the cusped arch opening of the gateway contained in a larger recess covered with an arch of similar shape (Illus. 12). One balcony supported on corbelled brackets is projected on either of its sides. But for some sunken panels, the rest of its surface is plain. The major element that lends majesty to the structure is a double-storeyed tapering bastion at each of its two corners, having alternatively rounded and angular flutes, very much like those of the first storey of the Qutb Minar. Presumably, it is from the Qutb Minar that its architect got the inspiration. The rounded flutes of the upper storey have small balconied alcoves. Two bands of white cross-signs mark the junction of two storeys. Each bastion was crowned with a dome.²⁴ At either far end of the facade there was a

slender pilaster of the same shape as that of the bastion, still extant in the northern gateway.

Equally simple and impressive is the treatment of the inner facade of the gateway. The central big arch has three window-openings above it. There is one recess on its either side on the ground level and an elegant balcony above it. One flight of steps on either side communicates to the upper storey.

On the soffit of the main arch, on the inner side, there are decorative stalactites, another type of which appears on the half-domed ceilings of the side recesses on the inner side (Illus. 13).

The bastions of the northern gateway have only rounded flutes and the small balconied alcoves are distributed on the second storey flutes in a more rhythmic manner (Illus. 14). Though differing in these minor details, this northern gateway is very much similar to the one discussed earlier. Although both the gates had painted decorations, the traces of which are still extant, yet their real beauty lies in their rhythmic proportions.

The courtyard of the sarai was enclosed by a high embattled wall with bastions at its angles.²⁵ The sarai had dilapidated considerably when Leut. William Barr visited it on June 25, 1839.²⁶ From the remains of the corner bastions he judged that in their pristine condition, these had been "adorned with open circular galleries covered in by domes".²⁷

This sarai was demolished by the Britishers during the Mutiny with a view to dislodging some of the mutineers.²⁸ The bricks were sold for ballast for the railway track.²⁹

According to Captain Mundy who saw an inscription on its gateway, this sarai was built during the reign of Shah Jahan by one Feroz Khan.³⁰

Sarai Amanat Khan

This exquisite, little-known sarai is situated in the village of the same name, 29 km. to the south-west of Amritsar, on the Tarn Taran-Attari Road. Although dilapidated, yet this sarai is a representative specimen bearing glazed tile decoration. Apparently, it is contemporaneous with other specimens embellished in this mode of decoration.³¹

The enclosure of the sarai measures 165 m. by 168 m. with an octagonal bastion at every corner. There are also semi-octagonal bastions in the middle of the northern and the southern sides.

Each of its eastern and western sides has an elegant gateway (Illus. IV). The central recess containing the entrance arch is framed by bands of inscription rendered in glazed tiles. Fine floral arabesque designs adorn the spandrels. The central arch is flanked by arched recesses at ground level and triple openings on the second storey. These triple openings were filled with trellis-work, some of which is still extant

on the left side of the western gateway. Above these triple openings are oblong panels depicting flower and vase designs against white background (Illus. 15). Whereas the flowers are in orange and two shades of blue, the leaves are in green. In the corners and in the other parts are square and oblong panels depicting the same motif (Illus. V). The rest of the surface of the gateway was covered with red painted plaster with brick pattern in white incised in it.

At present, the sarai is packed to capacity with rural occupants and only a few of the original rooms are extant. It is not known for certain how many rooms there were in each side, but every room was a 3.5 m. square and was covered with a domical vault. The room in the corner of the enclosure measured 4.5 m. square with semi-octagonal recesses in all the three sides.

The mosque covered with three low domes, is in the southern half of the sarai (Illus. VI). Its facade is pierced by three low arched openings contained in their respective recesses. The whole was richly embellished with glazed tiles of blue, yellow, green, orange and purple colours, the traces of which still survive. Blue tiles were used as background for floral patterns and yellow for inscriptional panels. The tiles of blue colour only are extant now, on the facades of the gateways and that of the mosque.

Dakhini Sarai

This sarai (Illus. VII) stands to the south of the village Mahlian Kalan on Nakodar-Kapurthala Road, 12 km. from Nakodar. It is said to have been built by Ali Mardan Khan during the reign of Shah Jahan, about 1640 A.D.³²

Having an overall measurement of about 180 m. by 172 m. it conforms to the usual sarai plan. One imposing and beautifully decorated gateway is there in the centre of the eastern and the western sides (Illus. 16). Each projected gateway is strengthened at either corner by an octagonal bastion, topped by a domed pavilion. The large entrance arch has a deep recess on either of its sides at ground level above which are two storeys of triple openings. The middle storey openings were filled up with trellis screens, a small portion of which is extant in the eastern gate. The upper triple openings have projected balconies.

The whole surface is embellished with arabesque designs executed in yellow, orange, green, turquoise, indigo and white glazed tiles giving a large variety to decor. This glazed tile work, according to Sir John Marshall, "is in no way inferior to the similar work in the Lahore Fort".³³ The pear-shaped domes of the bastions also had similar decorations, the traces of which still remain. The rest of the surface on the gateways was covered with red painted plaster with brick pattern incised in it, similar to that on the Sarai Amanat Khan.

On the inner side, the gateways are double-storeyed with one square cupola installed at each corner (Illus. 17).

The courtyard is surrounded with 30 rooms on each side. Each room measures 3.3 m. by 3.8 m. The southern and the northern sides have one additional and larger room in the centre. This additional room measures 4 m. by 5.8 m. and has a semi-circular recess in the back wall and is connected with one small room measuring 3.6 m. by 5.2 m. on its either side.

Each corner of the enclosure has a 4.9 m. square room with octagonal recesses in the side walls and a semi-octagonal one in the back wall. An opening in this last one leads to a smaller chamber corresponding to the octagonal bastion at each corner. In either of the sides of the verandah of this room a flight of stairs communicates to the terrace.

In the south-west part of this quadrangle is a mosque enclosed by a low wall. Its overall measurements are 16 m. by 21.5 m. The mosque is surmounted with three low domes, erected on octagonal bases. One minaret marked each corner of the facade of the sanctuary. The whole was decorated in a way similar to that of the gateways. Some foundation-like remnants to the east of the mosque bid fair to have been a former hammam.

About the beginning of the present century this sarai was being used as a leper asylum.³⁴

Doraha Sarai

Another beautiful sarai is situated to the south of the Ludhiana-Khanna Road, at Doraha.

It is approximately a 168 m. square enclosure of battlemented walls having an octagonal bastion at each corner. In the centre of the eastern and the western sides are semi-octagonal bastions to lend additional support to the walls.

Each of the northern and the southern sides is punctuated at its centre with an imposing portal (Illus. VIII). The entrance arch of each gateway is framed with glazed tile work, forming a pattern of five and ten-cornered stars (Illus. 18). This pattern is further framed with a geometrical design of swastikas.

An elegant semi hexagonal chhajja, embellished with glazed tiles is projected over each lower recess flanking the entrance arch (Illus. 19). It appears that a similar chhajja was also projected on either sides of the entrance on the inner side. One such chhajja can still be seen on the inner side of the southern gateway, while the remaining three might have crumbled and the walls repaired later on, leaving no mark thereof. The brick work in the ceiling of the northern gateway, though not intended to be naked, is interesting (Illus. 20).

The northern and the southern sides of the sarai had 26 rooms each, whereas the eastern and the western sides had 30 rooms each with a suite of three rooms in the centre. The north-east corner of the sarai has a complex arrangement of rooms. Perhaps it was a hammam.

The access to this hammam is through a barrel-vaulted corridor which leads to a rectangular compartment measuring 3 m. by 3.4 m. and having a domical ceiling. Through an arched opening in its northern wall we enter an octagonal room of two metres side with a raised octagonal platform in its midst. It might have served as a reception room.

An opening in the eastern wall of the former room leads to a bigger octagonal chamber of 2.7 m. side. This room has an octagonal room of two metres side on its left while on the right hand is a room measuring 2.8 m. by 5.6 m. This last room has a side wing of 1.7 m. by 2.6 m. having a small tank. The facing wall of this room has two very dark chambers. This is perhaps the instrument room in which the mechanics of the hammam operated.

An opening in the other side of the central room leads through a barrel vaulted corridor to a small octagonal room of 1.3 m. side. This last room is lighted by openings in its side walls as it corresponds to the corner octagonal bastion outside. All other rooms of this complex have octagonal apertures in their ceilings for light and ventilation. These were perhaps covered with cowls. The walls and ceilings of these rooms were richly painted with pleasing designs executed in bright colours, the traces of which are still extant. Terracotta pipes which conducted water from room to room have systematically been embedded in masonry. The working of such Mughal hammams has not hitherto been ascertained conclusively.

In all other sarais each corner of the enclosure has a similar arrangement of rooms, but the case is different here. Each other corner comprises a central room measuring 4.8 m. by 4.2 m. with deep recesses in each side. One gallery in each side leads to a square compartment, while the semi-octagonal recess of the back wall opens into an octagonal room.

All the rooms as well as galleries are provided with slanting ventilators. No decoration is there in these rooms. On the exterior, the spandrels of each room have a simple design formed with slightly off-colour bricks. One course of such bricks marks the parapet line of the rooms as well as that of the enclosing wall.

It appears that a part of the sarai had fallen and was repaired at some later date with mud instead of *chunam* (lime). This assumption is affirmed by the absence of off-colour brick parapet line on some parts of the left half of the northern face and its being out of line with the rest. The plain walls of the three non-existent projected *chhajjas* on the interior of the gateways further strengthens this point.

In the western half of the sarai, now in utter ruins, is a mosque surmounted with a dome. The facade of the mosque was richly painted, the traces of which still survive. There is a single storeyed structure adjoining the northern wall of the mosque, now in ruins. It was perhaps meant for the *mullah's* residence.

The temporary fashion of adorning buildings with glazed tiles was followed more particularly during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Hence, Doraha sarai also seems to have been erected during this period.

Sarai Lashkari Khan

This sarai is situated 12 km. to the west of Khanna, on the G.T. Road, in the district of Ludhiana. According to the inscription on its eastern gateway, this sarai was erected by Lashkar Khan, a Mughal Military General, during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb, in 1080 A.H./1669-70 A.D.

It is a 165 m. square enclosure having double storeyed gateways in the middle of the eastern and the western sides. The central arched opening, which is of stone, is flanked by two storeys of triple openings (Illus. 21). At the top of each gate runs an inscription engraved on white marble slabs. The octagonal bastions, lending strength and grace to the gateways are crowned with domed pavilions. Corners of the plinths on the gateway are protected by stone carved in the form of quarter pillars. Some other lower parts, too, are lined with roughly carved stones.

The courtyard of the sarai has 30 rooms on each side, i.e., 15 on either side of the gateways and an equal number on each side of the central higher compartments in the northern and the southern walls. Each room measures 3.3 m. square and is entered through a flat arched opening having 2.5 m. deep verandah in front.

One particular feature in which it deviates from the other sarais, is the absence of bastions in the middle of the northern and the southern walls and the arrangement of rooms on the interior, corresponding to this portion. In this case in the middle is a covered verandah 7.8 m. broad and 3.7 m. deep, on each side of which is a room measuring 4.0 m. by 7.5 m. and opening once into the verandah and twice into the courtyard of the sarai, i.e., each room has three doorways. The facade of the verandah, pierced by three cusped arched openings, rests on three piers.

In each corner of the courtyard is a five-metre square room having semi-octagonal recess in each wall. From its verandah, two flights of steps, one on either side, leads to the roof.

In the southern half of the courtyard is a mosque, the domes of which have crumbled. There are two wells in the sarai, at present being used for irrigation of the entire land of the sarai which has been appropriated as a farm since long.

The sarai is altogether devoid of any decoration of the name and its austerity perhaps reflects the austerity of the period in which it was built.

REFERENCES

1. A.K.M. Farooque, *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977, p. 96.
2. A.U. Pope, *Persian Architecture*, London, 1965, p. 240.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Turikh-i-Sher Shahi* in Elliot and Dowson's *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Calcutta, 1937, p. 140.
12. Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. I, ed. William Irvine, Calcutta, 1965, p. 115.
13. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, New Delhi, 1977, p. 232.
14. *Memoirs of Emperor Jahanguir*, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d. p. 157.
15. Manucci, *loc. cit.*
16. The following was the route from Agra to Lahore, as described by William Finch in 1611 A.D. :
Agra—Rankata—Bad-ki-Sarai—Akbarpur—Hodal—Palwal—Faridabad—Delhi—Narela—Ganaur—Panipat—Karnal—Thanesar—Shahabad—Ambala—Aluwa Sarai—Sirhind—Doraha—Phillor ki Sarai—Nakodar—Sultanpur—Fatehpur (Vairowal)—Hogee Moheed (Tarn Taran ?)—Candiana Sarai—Lahore. [William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India*, London, 1921, pp. 155-60].
17. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 64-65.

The complete inscription runs as follows :

"During the just rule of Jahangir Shah, son of Akbar Shah,
Whose like neither heaven nor earth remembers,
The Nur Sarai was founded in the district of Phalor
By command of the angel-like Nur Jahan Begam.
The date of its foundation the poet happily discovered
'This Sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begam' (1028)
The date of its completion wisdom found in the words
'This Sarai was erected by Nur Jahan Begam' (1030)."

The sixth and the eighth lines form chronograms which give these dates.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

The inscription read as follows :

"During the reign of Jahangir Badshah, lord of the Universe,
king of kings of this world and his time, the shadow of God.
The fame of whose goodness and justice overspread the earth
Until it reached even the highest heavens above.
His wife and trusted companion, Nur Jahan,
Commanded the erection of this Sarai, wide as the heavens.
When this fortunate building rose upon the face of the earth,
May its walls last for ever !

The date of its foundation wisdom found in the words
 'This Sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begam' "

19. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, pp. 220, 249.
24. William Barr, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar and thence to Cabul*, London, 1884, pp. 14-15.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Charles J. Rodgers, *Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 58.
29. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1919, p. 222.
30. Captain Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, Vol. I, London, 1832, p. 105.
31. Jivtesh Singh Maini dates this sarai in the year 1640-41 A.D. on the basis of some inscription he was able to decipher on the gateways. ("Rendezvous with the Past", *The Sunday Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1978, p. 5.)
32. J. Ph. Vogel, "Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort", *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XIV, April, 1912, 3. Ali Mardan Khan was the Persian governor of Kandhar which city he surrendered to Shah Jahan and entered his service. Shah Jahan made him governor of Kashmir and of the Punjab successively. He died in 1658 A.D. He bestowed on public numerous buildings and gardens. (*Letters of Aurangzebe*, tr. J.H. Bilimoria, Delhi, 1972, p. 49, f.n. 43.)
33. Sir John Marshall, *Annual Report of the A.S.I. (1926-27)*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 17.
34. Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

Tombs

THE tradition of tomb-construction did not exist in India before the Muslims appeared on the scene.¹ In fact, the Indian philosophical concept of life which regards body as a simple abode in which the being dwells temporarily, does not leave any scope for such a tradition.²

Islam, too, does not encourage building of tombs. The *Hadith* strictly forbids the building of a tomb over a grave with stone, burnt brick or mortar or to write verses upon it.³ But here, the strong desire to immortalize oneself got the upperhand. And it is to the Muslims that the world owes one of the most splendid traditions of tomb-construction. The first Muslim tomb to be erected on Indian soil is the one popularly known as Sultan Ghari. Nasir-ud-din Muhammad (d. 1231 A.D.) lies interred in this tomb, erected by his father Iltutmish. Beginning under the Sultans, this tradition culminated, under the Mughals, in the memorials like the Taj Mahal which occupy a prominent place in the history of world architecture.

Under the Mughals, some fine tombs were erected in the region which now comprises the States of the Punjab and Haryana, also. Broadly speaking, these tombs can be classified into two categories on the basis of their plan—the square and the octagonal.

In essence, the square tomb comprised a cubic base pierced by arched openings and the whole crowned with a hemi-spherical dome. In early specimens the exterior is usually composed of false storeys, having in the middle of each side a rectangular projected frame containing the archway. During the time of Akbar, the false storeys of the exterior were replaced by the real ones and the central projecting frame by a deep *ivan*. It enclosed a square or octagonal room.

The octagonal form⁴ further resolves itself into two types. Of these, the first type is a regular octagon, whereas the second one is a Bagdadi octagon—a square octagonalised by chamfering its angles.⁵ In both the cases, each face of a tomb is pierced by one or two storeys of arched recesses which on cardinal sides contain the archways. These archways are sometimes filled with trellis work, leaving the entrance side.

Both the types—the square as well as the octagonal—underwent changes in details and continued to be used with minor variations. Some of the finest examples of both the categories are described on the following pages.

The Group of Tombs at Hissar

Situated on the old Hansi Road (near Nand Cinema) at Hissar is a cluster of tombs, a dozen in number. These tombs were erected for the soldiers who fought in Humayun's Gujarat war versus Bahadur Shah, in 1535 A.D. and were killed.

All the tombs of the group are invariably of the same type, differing only in size (Illus. 22). Each structure is erected on a raised platform and is square in plan. The battering walls, so characteristic of the Tughlaq period, still find use here although with a low-key slope. Each side of the building is pierced by an arched entrance contained in a projected bay. The monotony of the exterior surface is relieved by two or sometimes three storeys of sunken panels. A coggy brick-course defines the crenellated parapet and also decorates the top of every sunken panel on the exterior. The whole is crowned with a dome resting on an octagonal drum, having its surface marked with merlons. The exterior surface of the domes of some of the tombs have been given a peculiar treatment. They have raised plaster stripes marking flutes. Only two of the tombs retain parts of their surmounting finials which show an *amalka*-like member.

Interiorly, each structure constitutes a plane square room covered with a domical ceiling. The usual *mihrab*, erected in the western wall of the tombs is missing here.

Some of the tombs are adorned with carved stucco patterns, square, turquoise blue glazed tiles embellish some other tombs.

Three of these tombs bore inscriptions carved in stucco. One of these having already been destroyed the second is also to meet the same fate. Only the third inscription is complete as well as intelligible. According to the extinct inscription, the tomb bearing it was erected for interring the remains of Tardi Kochak, son of Mir Barantaq, the Mughal, in the month of Rajab of the year 944 A.H./1537-38 A.D.⁶ According to the same inscription this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost of erection was 15,000 black *tankas* or Rs. 750.

The second inscription is incomplete. It refers to some Waltu Khan, grandson of Sultan Malik Beg.⁷ The same inscription further provides the date of the completion of the tomb as the third of the month of Ramzan, 943 A.H./February 13, 1537. The tomb was constructed at a cost of 20,000 black *tankas* or Rs. 1000, under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawar, son of Qasim. According to the

last inscription, the tomb bearing it was completed during the month of Ramzan of the year 944 A.H./February 1538.⁸ Mir Ashiq Ali, son of Mir Shah Ali lies interred in this tomb, erected at a cost of 12,000 black *tankas* or Rs. 600.

At present, all of these tombs are being used as cattlesheds or for storing grain by the local inhabitants.

Tomb of Hussain Khan at Bahlolpur

This tomb is situated to the north-west of the village Bahlolpur, 50 km. from Ludhiana via Samrala. It is the largest of the tombs in the village and was presumably built in the time of Akbar.⁹

It is an octagonal structure of 6.4 m. side with slightly sloping walls (Illus. 23). Each of its faces has two arched openings, one above the other and both semi-domed. Alternate openings open into the building. The upper storey of arched openings which has one metre broad gallery around it, was approached by a flight of stairs in the southern wall, now crumbled. Another stairway in the north-east side of the second storey leads to the roof which is 10.7 m. above ground. On the roof is a three-metre high octagonal drum which once supported a hemi-spherical double dome.¹⁰ The finial surmounting the dome was missing even when Rodgers saw it in 1888-89 A.D.¹¹

An opening in each cardinal side leads to the square interior of 7.3 m. side. The walls of the tomb are 4.3 m. thick. Each wall of the interior is relieved with one large, sunken, engrailed arch further containing sunken panels. A squinch arch in each corner supported the dome.

The soffits of these squinch arches still bear traces of painted designs in viridian and red colours which are also there on the rim of the dome. The traces of stucco stalactites can also still be seen. Wooden beams were embedded in the walls and can still be seen in the southern wall. The whole tomb was formerly plastered which had fallen off even before Rodgers' visit.¹² As a result, the building gave him a very ruinous look. At present, its southern half as well as the whole of the dome have crumbled.

Tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul

Shah Quli Khan served as governor of Narnaul for 42 years in the reign of Emperor Akbar.¹³ He was the man whose arrow pierced Hemu's eye in the second battle of Panipat. Abul Fazl ascribes to him the restoration of the Mughal dynasty and ranks him second only to Bairam Khan.¹⁴

His tomb stands in a large walled-in enclosure provided with a gateway in the southern wall. This gateway itself is an elegant structure, locally called Tripolia (Illus. 24). As per the inscription it bears, this gate was built nearly a decade after the tomb, i.e., in 997

A.H./1588-89 A.D.¹⁵ It is a three-storeyed building with slightly sloping walls of rubble covered with a thick layer of plaster.

One long flight of steps on its either side leads directly to the third storey which comprises one central room having a deep verandah on all its sides and a square room in each corner. The central room is decorated with graceful designs (Illus. 25). Under the long flights of steps, double stairs lead to the second storey. The interior as well as the facade of the gateway are adorned with pleasing designs.

To the north-east of this gateway is the tomb proper standing on a platform, octagonal in shape, each side measuring 11.5 m. (Illus. IX & 26). It faces south and bears two inscriptions in red sandstone. The tomb itself is also octagonal with each side 5.2 m. outside and 3.25 m. inside. The floor level is marked with a projected chhajja all around the building. Each face of the tomb has a semi-octagonal recess covered with a pointed arch. Leaving the southern one, all the three doorways have been screened with trellis work which provided subdued light to the interior (Illus. 27). The rest of the space on each face is divided into panels each filled with designs carved in red sandstone.

The parapet of the building, which is 8.5 m. above the platform, is decorated with merlons. Each merlon has a carved flower in it unlike Ibrahim Khan's tomb in the same town where each merlon has the word 'Allah' inscribed on it. The whole is crowned with a white plastered dome, resting on an octagonal drum whose cardinal sides have one ventilator each, covered with a *jali*.

The interior of the tomb is faced with marble and has six graves in it. The soffit of the domical ceiling is adorned with designs painted in red and green colours. The tomb owes its attractive appearance both to its harmonious proportions and the masterly combination of colours, i.e., grey of its body, red of the designs and white of the dome.

The inscription over its entrance furnishes the date of erection of the tomb which is 982 A.H./1574-75 A.D.¹⁶

Tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahlolpur

Situated on the south bank of *Budha-nala*, about 90 m. north of the tomb of Hussain Khan, is the tomb said to be that of his son, Bahadur Khan¹⁷ (Illus. 28). This tomb is also supposed to have been built during the reign of Akbar.¹⁸

Standing on an octagonal platform of 6.8 m. side, the tomb itself is an octagon of 5.8 m. side. Its slightly sloping walls rise about seven metres high from the platform to the parapet. The bricks used measure 20 cm. by 13.5 cm. by 3 cm.

In its general treatment it differs from the earlier tomb. Each face of its exterior has one large arched recess which on cardinal sides has

1.5 m. broad entrance arch, with a ventilator above it. Whereas the interior of the earlier tomb is a square, here it is an octagon of 4.5 m. side. It enshrines three graves in it. A staircase in the south-west wall leads to the roof which is covered with a single dome without any neck. The first floor gallery of the earlier tomb is also missing here as it is single-storeyed. The tomb has a crypt also. There are many graves in the vicinity of this tomb and it is better preserved than that of Hussain Khan.

Tomb of Shamsheer Khan at Batala

Situated to the south-east of the town, near Baring College, is the tomb of Shamsheer Khan Rajput¹⁹ (Illus. X & 29). The inscription on the tomb gives out that Shamsheer Khan, the resident of *pargana* Nasrabad in *sarkar* Manakpur, constructed a reservoir, a mosque and a garden at Batala in 997-98 A.H./1589-90 A.D.²⁰ However, there is no reference to the tomb itself. Presumably it was also erected about the same period.

The tomb stands on a raised plinth measuring 34 m. by 39 m., surrounded by a low wall having bastions at corners. This plinth is approached through a simple projected gateway to the south. Its interior still bears the traces of painted decorations.

The tomb is an octagonal structure, with alternative sides measuring 8.3 m. and 6.1 m. in length. The exterior has two storeys of recesses. The smaller sides have semi-octagonal recesses whereas the larger sides have rectangular ones, both covered with pointed arches. The space between these recesses is relieved with two vertical rows of sunken panels, one on its either side. The whole structure is crowned with a low dome. The soffits of the recesses are adorned with stalactites. The spandrels of the arches are filled with painted arabesque and geometrical designs. In addition to the above, the exterior had horizontal panels of decorative inscriptions, only the traces of which are extant.

The entrance of the tomb which is to the south bears the red sandstone inscription. The interior is a regular octagon of three metres side. Each of its walls has two storeys of recesses, similar to those on the exterior. A cornice-like moulding separates the two storeys. The interior is richly embellished with arabesques and geometrical designs, the main colours used being deep bluish green and Indian red (Illus. 30).

But for the entrance wall the rest have rectangular panels of Quranic inscriptions. One interesting decoration is a geometrical design of swastikas, along the base of the dome on the interior (Illus. 31). The soffit of the dome is painted with flowers, trees, plants, geometrical designs, vase and flower motif, etc.

The Group of Tombs at Jhajjar

Outside the town of Jhajjar, on Rohtak-Delhi Road is an imposing group of seven tombs (Illus. 32). Together they constitute a unique style. It will be more appropriate to call them graveyards.

Each tomb stands on a raised platform, approached by a flight of steps. Each tomb also has a mosque or Idgah attached. A few of these also have *chhatris* or cupolas in the courtyard. Almost all of these tombs bear inscriptions providing valuable information. Another of their characteristic features is the presence of medallions in spandrels of arches. Only one of these has painted decoration. The material used for their constructions is invariably, what is locally called *bichhwa kankar*. Red sandstone was used only for decorative purpose. Most of the tomb-stones have been upturned and disturbed by treasure-seeking people who believed that untold wealth lay hidden under these.

The earliest tomb has an inscription on its doorway, according to which Mian Raib, son of Pyara, built this tomb in Ramzan, 1002/1593-94 A. D. in the town of Jhajjar *Purnur* (full of light)²¹ (Illus. 33 & 34). In the courtyard there are two grave-stones. The first bears an Arabic inscription on it. At its feet is a Persian inscription meaning that "everyone who has come into the world has to depart".²² The second inscription bears the name of Ghiyas-ud-din. In the yard is a cupola supported on eight pillars.

The second tomb, according to an inscription, is that of Hasan Shaheed who was killed during the reign of Jahangir in 1035 A. H./1625-26 A.D.²³

The gateway of the mosque in the third tomb enclosure bears an inscription in six verses in Persian which tells us that it is the tomb of Ismail, son of Raib, who founded the mosque in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D.²⁴ This enclosure also has an open octagonal cupola, just like that in the first one.

The fourth is an octagonal building and not square, as Rodgers puts it.²⁵ Each side of its exterior measures 5.1 m. whereas the interior is a 6.4 m. square. The structure is covered with a dome, its soffit bearing the traces of painted designs. The rest of the interior was also adorned with geometrical and floral patterns painted in yellow ochre, green and red, the traces of which are still extant. In the courtyard is an open cupola having octagonal pillars. At the rear is an Idgah. Red sandstone has not been used in this tomb at all. There is no inscription on it.

The mosque of the fifth tomb (Illus. 35) bears an inscription on the central arch which gives out that in the reign of Shah Jahan, in the year 1039 A.H./1629-30 A.D., Kalal Khan built this high mosque.²⁶ This man is said to have been a mace-bearer of Jahangir.²⁷

The sixth and the seventh tombs consist merely of western walls

without any mosque or cupola. Nor is there any historical inscription thereon.

It seems that the men buried in these tombs were merely local celebrities.

Tomb of Ustad at Nakodar

Nakodar, situated on the old Badshahi Road from Delhi to Lahore, is a large town to the south-west of Jalandhar. Here are two fine Mughal tombs, situated close together. These are popularly known—the first as that of the *Ustad* or teacher and the other as that of his *Shagird* or pupil.

The ground plan of the Ustad's tomb is a Bagdadi octagon, i.e., it has four long and four short sides. Each large side measures 9.8 m. and the short one 6.4 m. These sides enclose a square room of 9.15 m. side, the thickness of the walls being 4.8 m. These measurements do not exactly tally with what these should be in order to make a Bagdadi octagon, but Cunningham has noted the similar difference in the measurements of the octagon of the Taj Mahal also.²⁸ The same difference is also discernible in the relative dimensions of the platform on which the tomb stands, the larger faces measuring 14.5 m. and the shorter ones being 11.2 m.

Externally, each larger face has a rectangular recess and each shorter face a half-octagonal one, both covered with pointed arches (Illus. XI). The cardinal sides are pierced with doorways. Leaving out the southern one, all the other three doorways have been screened with trellis work. The whole is crowned with a hemi-spherical dome springing from a cylindrical neck and surmounted with a small pinnacle. Although the building has eight angles yet there are only four turrets.

Only the spandrels of the arched framed and the middle panels are filled with glazed tiles which are mainly of yellow, blue and green colours. All the patterns are geometrical, mainly of star and octagon groups.²⁹ All the joints of the glazed tiles are pointed and are slightly separated by thin raised ridges of plaster like the raised pointing of brick-work. Cunningham noticed the same peculiarity in the glazed tile work of Jahangir's palace at Lahore.³⁰ The upper and the lower panels are simply painted, the main motif being vase and flower and flowered plant. The rest of the surface is covered with a thin coating of red plaster and then brick pattern is painted in it with white colour.

The inscription on the tomb tells us that it is the "Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, Muhammad Mumin Huseni," erected in 1021 A.H./1612 A.D.³¹ In Blochmann's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Muhammad Mumin is referred to as a *tamburah* player.³² And the further information has been furnished in a footnote that

according to *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, "Muhammad Mumin, alias Hafizak, a Tamburah player" was one of the musicians in the service of Khan Khanan.

There were two very elegant and highly polished sarcophagi inside, of sienna-coloured marble, inlaid with white marble inscription.³³ When Cunningham visited it in 1879 A.D., the building had been appropriated for a school and the interior had been smudged with usual sanitary whitewash.³⁴

General Cunningham is of the opinion that actually this tomb, as well as that of the Shagird were situated in a former garden.³⁵ It is supported by Jahangir's statement in which he mentions about a grant of Rs. 20,000 made by his father Akbar, for building embankment and a waterfall here.³⁶ He himself ordered Muizz-ul-mulk, the jagirdar of Nakodar, to erect a building and prepare a garden on one side of this embankment.³⁷ It was perhaps this garden that surrounded these tombs. But the said garden has vanished into thin air.

✓ Tomb of Sheikh Chillie at Thanesar

It is one of the most striking tombs in the northern India and David Ross has justly ranked it second only to the famous Taj Mahal³⁸ (Illus. 36). It stands picturesquely to the west of the north-end of the main bazar of the town. On this site there is said to have been a temple of Siva which was razed to the ground by the Muhammedans.³⁹

The tomb is made of red granite faced with white marble.⁴⁰ It stands on an octagonal platform, each side measuring 10.3 m. This platform was once surrounded with posts and trellis work.⁴¹ This work was 52 cm. high and the posts which supported it were 66 cm. high and 12.7 cm. square.⁴² This platform is in the middle of an enclosure measuring 53 m. square and once paved with marble.⁴³ This enclosure rises 12.5 m. above the level of the plain. Its walls have in it 12 cupolas, each of which was once decorated with glazed tiles. The traces of blue, purple and green tiles are still extant on some of them.

The tomb itself is octagonal, each side being 5.4 m. on the exterior and 3.5 m. on the interior. Each face of the tomb has a rectangular recess covered with a cusped arch and adorned with two marble screens (Illus. 37). Ornamental battlements rise above the projected eaves. The whole is crowned with a pear-shaped dome resting on a circular neck and surrounded by eight elegant pinnacles, one at each angle. The soffit of the dome is decorated with painted designs. Two graves occupy the interior. Harmonious proportions combined with fine workmanship characterise the monument.

This tomb was turned into a *Gurudwara* by the Sikhs who are said to have carried off portions of its marble latticework to Kaithal.⁴⁴ It was in ruins when William Barr saw it in 1839 A.D.⁴⁵ Still he inferred

that in its pristine condition "it was deficient neither in beauty nor elegance". Later on, it was restored by the Department of the Archaeological survey of India.

In the western wall of the enclosure is another structure, said to be the tomb of Sheikh Chillie's wife. But I think that it is, in fact, a mosque. It stands on a marble platform and is covered with an elongated dome of the same material. It measures 6.7 m. by 4.1 m. inside. Its sandstone walls are divided into panels, each having a simple design carved in it, in low relief (Illus. 38).

It is not known for certain who Sheikh Chillie was. Rodgers is of the view that Chillie was not his name, but only a title, conferred upon one who frequently performed *chillas*.⁴⁶ There is also a dissension regarding his name, some having called him Abdur-Rahim, some Abd-ul-Karim and others Abd-ul-Razzak.⁴⁷ He is, however, familiarly known by the name or title of Sheikh Chillie and is said to have been the author of a book entitled *Lives of the Walis* or Muhammedan saints.⁴⁸ David Ross refers to him as "the author of some of the most popular moral tales, allegories and ballads".⁴⁹

There is no inscription on the tomb, but on the basis of its pear-shaped dome and flowered marble lattice, Cunningham ascribes it to the days of Dara Shikoh to whom Sheikh Chillie is said to have been spiritual advisor, or about 1650 A.D.⁵⁰

Tomb of Shagird at Nakodar

Close to the tomb of Ustad at Nakodar is the tomb of Shagird (Illus. XII & 39). According to an inscription on the tomb, the name of the person buried in it is Haji Jamal and it was built in 1067 A.H./1657 A.D., about the end of Shah Jahan's reign. Nothing more is known about Haji Jamal. I doubt if he had any link with Muhammad Mumin.

Though similar in size, decoration and general style, this tomb reverses the plan of the tomb nearby. Outside it is a 18.75 m. square including the octagonal turrets at each corner. The room inside is octagonal in shape. Each of the four faces of the tomb is pierced by a semi-octagonal recess covered with a pointed arch. But for the entrance, each of the three sides is filled with trellis work.

The octagonal towers at the corners are surmounted with cupolas, rising above the battlements. A pear-shaped dome, in vogue during the period of Shah Jahan,⁵¹ springing from a cylindrical neck of nearly 12 m. diameter, crowns the structure. The tomb rests in the midst of a 32.8 m. square and 2.5 m. high platform, panelled on all sides with deep niches. On the tomb is an inscription which has been translated as the "Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, the humble slave, Haji Jamal, 1067 A.H./1657 A.D."⁵²

The exterior of the tomb is decorated with panels of glazed tile work (Illus. 40). These panels are framed with polished red stucco painted with brick-pattern. Large pots of flowers are represented in tall panels. Small panels are filled with geometrical designs and plates of fruit, some oblong striped melons and others with oranges and lemons (Illus. 41).

The space in-between the panels is adorned with diaper patterns in tiles of yellow, green, dark blue, white and purple colours. The panels on the corner octagonal towers are adorned with peculiar angular quirks, pleasing to the eye (Illus. XIII). The battlements are also embellished with tiles. On the exterior, the dome bears traces of glazed tiles whereas its soffit is adorned with painted designs.

REFERENCES

1. R. Nath, *The Immortal Taj Mahal*, Bombay, 1972, p. 10. The satupa is the only funeral structure of the ancient Hindus, but it is originally a funeral mound. (Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 30).
2. R. Nath, *loc. cit.*
3. T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1885, pp. 46, 48, 150 and 635.
4. A. U. Pope traces the origin of the octagonal form in India. According to him, "the octagonal form of such buildings as the Taj Mahal was anticipated by many centuries in Persia. But we do not hear of octagonal buildings in Achaemenid or Sasanian times, which would suggest that the form was not indigenous to Persia. It was, however, characteristic of Indian architecture and although we can point to no early monuments in this form, the *silpa-sastras* specifically commend the octagonal plan as specially sacred." ("Some Inter-relations between Persian and Indian Architecture", *Indian Art and Letters*, IX, N.S., 1935, 111-12.)
5. According to Alexander Cunningham a Baghdadi octagon is constructed as follows: "Each side of the square is divided into four, and the points being joined, the enclosed area is divided into sixteen squares of which the four middle ones form the interior of the building. Then a diagonal drawn across each of the corner squares forms the shorter side of the octagon, while each longer face is left equal to the one half of the side of the square." (*Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, 1970, p. 50)
6. Charles Rodgers, *Revised List of the Objects of the Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 66.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in Punjab and its Dependencies*, Lahore, 1875, Part III, pp. 8-9.
10. Charles Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1888-89*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 37.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. H. B. W. Garrick, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84*, Vol. XXIII, Varanasi, n.d., p. 28. Shah Quli Khan died in December 1600 at Agra (T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, Delhi Rep., 1971, p. 367).
14. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873, p. 319.
15. Garrick, *loc. cit.*

16. G. Yazdani, "Narnaul and its Buildings", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., III, 1908, 643.
17. *Ludhiana District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1907, p. 227. Locally the earlier tomb, the larger one, is considered to be that of the son and the smaller one of the father. According to them, as the son showed a disrespect to his father by erecting a larger tomb for himself, his tomb has crumbled earlier. Local inhabitants still make offerings of salt and hand fans at the latter tomb, which they consider to be the older one.
18. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest*, Part III, pp. 8-9.
19. In order to ensure proper protection and maintenance agreements were made with the owner of the tomb in 1927-28. (H. Hargreaves, *Annual Report of the A.S.I. 1927-28*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 191).
20. Dr. Wahid Mirza, "Some Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from the East Punjab", *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement)*, 1953-54, 10.
21. Rodgers, *Revised List*..., p. 78.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.* and *Objects of Antiquarian Interest*, Part II, pp. 6-7.
28. Rodgers, *Revised List*, p. 79.
29. E.H. Hankin classifies geometrical patterns into the square, the hexagonal, the octagonal and the arabesque groups. (cf. *The Drawing of Geometrical Patterns in Saracenic Art*, Memoir No. 15 of the A.S.I., Calcutta, 1924, pp. 4-23). But his classification seems defective and we can agree with R. Nath when he says: "As a matter of fact, geometrical designs can be devised in endless numbers, under endless varieties and their complete classification is out of question." However, he himself gives the following nine examples of these groups: (1) Trigon Group; (2) Square Group; (3) Pentagon Group; (4) Hexagon Group; (5) Octagon Group; (6) Decagon Group; (7) Dodecagon Group; (8) Star Group; and (9) Swastika Group. (cf. *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 79).
30. Rodgers, *Revised List*, p. 60.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. Blochmann, Delhi, 1965, p. 682.
33. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 59 & H.H. Cole, *List of Some Ancient and other Native Architectural Buildings in India*, Simla, 1880, p. 12.
36. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Book I, tr. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, pp. 135-36.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
38. David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, Patiala Rep., 1970, p. 241.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
40. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest*, Part III, pp. 2-3.
41. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle*, p. 10.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of the A.S.I.*, Vol. II, Varanasi, 1972, p. 223.
44. *Ibid.* and David Ross, *loc. cit.*
45. William Barr, *Journal of a Tour from Delhi to Peshawar and thence to Cabul*, London, 1844, pp. 23-24.

46. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle*, p. 10.
47. Cunningham, *Report of the A.S.I.*, p. 223.
48. *Ibid.*
49. David Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
50. Cunningham, *Report of the A.S.I.*, p. 223.
51. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, p. 61.
52. *Ibid.*

Mosques and other Monuments

THE mosque is the most significant religious building of Islam. The Muslims congregate here to say their community prayers. A mosque is a square or rectangular structure in brick or stone. To its west is the service portion of the building consisting of a nave and aisles. The whole is covered with one or more than one domes. Its back wall contains a recess or alcove in the middle, called a *mihrab* indicating *qibla* or the direction for prayer. On the right hand of the *mihrab* stands the *mimbar* or pulpit. In the courtyard is a tank for minor ablutions.

Though most of the villages and towns, once inhabited by the Muslims, usually have more than one mosque, imposing examples are very rare in the Punjab and Haryana. A selected few are described below

Kabuli Bagh Mosque at Panipat

After his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat, in April 1526, Babur built a large mosque, laid a garden and dug a tank on the spot, in commemoration of this grand historical conquest.¹ The whole of this complex, of which only the mosque survives, was erected about two km. to the north-east of Panipat.

The mosque is an enclosure, 52.5 m. by 44.5 m. in area with an octagonal bastion at each of its corners. Only one bastion, that of the north-west corner is extant now. The access to the courtyard is through a graceful gateway projected on the northern side (Illus. 42). This brick structure of slightly sloping walls has red sandstone veneer and is covered with a low dome. The bracket and lintel type entrance is contained in a double sunken arch. Flanking this arch are vertical rows of sunken panels, of which the top ones have some carved designs. A long inscription runs along the parapet. It gives the date of the completion of the mosque as 935 A.H./ 1528-29 A.D.

The mosque proper has a central square room of 10.3 m. side, rising higher than the triple aisles on its either side (Illus. 43). Its south-west portion is in utter ruins. In the western wall of the nave is a *mihrab*, having one small room on its either side. There are three

inscriptions above it. Exteriorly, the parapet is marked with merlons, which are also to be found on the 2.8 m. high octagonal drum and the base of the large central dome that roofs the nave. In addition to this large one, covering aisles on each side were three rows of three domes each, the central row rising higher than the rest.²

In the nave, triple recessed arches are thrown across each corner to convert the square of the room to an octagon. Similar treatment in each corner of the octagon changes it into a 16-sided figure which supports the circular rim of the dome. In the aisles pendentives have been used instead of squinches. Some of the domical vaults of the aisles are interesting. Here, first the arches were thrown across the space and the in-between spaces were filled subsequently.

There is one well in the courtyard which is said to have had a suite of *sarad-khanas* or cold rooms, going round it.³ To the east of the mosque there was a large tank. Though the walls of the tank are no more there, its span is considerably lower than the surrounding ground level and is currently being used for cultivation.

Jama Masjid at Kaithal

This atypical mosque is situated in the heart of the town (Illus. 44). Whereas the central portion of a mosque, i.e., nave is usually higher than its side wings, it consists of two aisles separated from each other by four piers. The whole structure is covered with ten equal sized domes, in two rows of five each. The total effect is that of solidity and solemnity. There is no inscription, but on the basis of the shape of its arches, Rodgers has ascribed it to the period of Humayun.⁴

The bricks in the courtyard are laid in squares each having an arch in it. The building is in remarkably good condition and is decorated with stucco work of a much later date.

In the south-west corner of the courtyard was a domed tomb adorned with blue enamelled tiles.⁵ The sill of the outer door was an old beam belonging to some Hindu temple, with some grotesque face and scroll and other ornaments carved on it.⁶ But for the mosque building the rest has crumbled.

Chiniwali Masjid at Thanesar

This mosque is situated at the northern end of the main bazaar of the town. It stands on a high platform which is a full-fledged storey containing cells. These cells might have been used as shops, thus ensuring a regular income for the maintenance of the mosque.

The sanctuary is divided into usual three rooms, each roofed with a low dome, not visible from the bazaar (Illus. 45). A short, stout octagonal minaret rises from each corner of the facade. Rodgers noted an inscription on the southern minaret.⁷ The last line of this inscription

formed a chronogram which yielded the date equivalent to 1565-66 A.D.⁸

The mosque owed its name to its decoration. The facade, the northern wall and the minarets are all divided into panels, once filled with floral patterns executed in glazed tiles. But the colour of the tiles had already come off even when Rodgers saw it in 1888-89 A.D.⁹ The shape of the patterns is still visible even under repeated whitewash coats.

Near its southern wall is a well with an inscription in its wall and an underground room, approached through the well as well as a flight of steps on the southern side. Adjoining the well is another room covered with a dome bearing traces of glazed tile work. Perhaps this structure once used to be a tomb. To its front is a small tank, nearly five metres square, having the base of a fountain in its centre. Some fragments of the Hindu pillars are lying nearby.

The Mosque at Bahadurgarh

Aurangzeb's foster brother Saif Khan built a fort, 12 km. to the east of Patiala, in 1067 A.H./1656-57 A.D. and baptized the place Saifabad.¹⁰ Nearly a decade later, he added a mosque to it. When the Patiala chief Karam Singh remodelled the fort, he rechristened it as Bahadurgarh, out of his deep devotion to the ninth Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur.¹¹

The facade of the mosque is pierced by three cusped arches opening into the nave. Each corner of the sanctuary is marked with a pilaster culminating above parapet, into an octagonal minaret. The parapet is marked by a *chhajja* which gets curved over the entrance, in consonance with the three arches below. Over these arches is an inscription, the last line of which is a chronogram, yielding the date equivalent to 1667 A.D.¹²

The sanctuary is surmounted with three domes, the central one being rectangular and larger than those at its sides. All the domes are double and are crowned with *kalasa* finials.

In the courtyard is a tank, measuring 8.3 m. by 8.1 m. and 1.5 m. deep, having a flight of three steps in each of its corners and a fountain in the centre. The whole of the mosque measures 38 m. by 29 m. and rises above a platform 1.8 m. high.

Mosque of Abdul Wahab at Sadhora

This mosque is not in the neighbourhood of the Qazi's mosque, as Cunningham has stated it to be,¹³ nor has its face towards the south, as Rodgers has described it.¹⁴ It is situated to the west of the town and has appropriate orientation.

The peculiarity of the building is that it has a 1.3 m. broad verandah in front. The inner central arch has eight lines of Persian poetry in

purple letters on yellow ground. The first line has the name of Mahi-yuddin Alamgir Shah (Aurangzeb). Below these lines is given the date of the completion of the mosque which is 1080 A.H./1669-70 A.D.¹⁵ Each of the inner arches has a Persian couplet on it, but of no historical value. The *mihrab* wall of the mosque also has three Quranic inscriptions.

The whole structure is surmounted with a bulbous dome with a rectangular dome on its either side (Illus. 46). Interiorly, the mosque has considerably low ceilings. It is so because of double domes. All the three domes are surmounted with inverted lotus flower mouldings.

In its initial condition, the mosque must have been an elegant piece of workmanship as the whole of its facade was once adorned with glazed tile mosaics. All the inscriptions also are executed in the same medium. The interior is richly painted with floral patterns.

Currently, the mosque is being used as a private habitation. Its facade has been repeatedly white-washed and the interior is covered with layers of smoke. Only the inscriptions are nearly perfect.

In front of the mosque is the tomb of Abdul Wahab. The original building has been dismantled. At present, it is a grotesque structure with fragments of earlier stones incorporated in its freshly built walls

OTHER MONUMENTS

The Mughal architecture, however, was not limited to the four categories described on the previous pages. They have bequeathed to us a large variety of other monuments of public and private utility, too. Some noteworthy specimens are given below :

Takhat-i-Akbari at Kalanaur

Akbar was at Kalanaur, about 22 km. from Gurdaspur, when he received the sad tidings of his father Humayun's demise at Delhi. This is the town where he was proclaimed the Emperor of Hindustan on 2nd Rabi II, 963 A.H./February 14, 1556 A.D.¹⁶ The coronation was executed on a masonry platform, now known as the *Takhat-i-Akbari*.

Rodgers is of the opinion that the ceremony was probably performed in a tent and this plain brick platform afterwards erected to denote the spot.¹⁷ Later, gardens were laid, wells were sunk and palaces and hammams were erected around "the Throne".¹⁸ Of these subsequent structures, nothing has survived, but for some wells.¹⁹

The Takhat-i-Akbari is a simple platform of brick coated with plaster (Illus. XIV & 47). It is 11.4 m square and 1.2 m. high. A tank, 4.2 m. square and 1.4 m. deep in the centre of the platform added to its beauty. The water of this tank overflowed down the scalloped chutes of red painted plaster into four miniature reservoirs at the bottom of the

platform. Little flights of steps, on either side of the chutes lead on to the platform from every side except the west. On this side is the throne, a plain brick structure with a single front step extending its full length. But for a plain moulding which turns at its upper edge, there is no other decoration worth the name.

Jal Mahal at Narnaul

This is a double-storeyed structure, picturesquely situated amidst a large tank (Illus. XV & 48). The only approach to the *Mahal* is across a causeway on arches, after passing through a simple gateway to the north.

The building is a square of 17 m. side, comprising a central square room of 5.9 m. side having 3.9 m. deep verandah on all the four sides. There is a double storeyed square room of 2.5 m. side in each corner. The parapet is marked by a deep *chhajja*. At each corner of the building is installed a square cupola supported on octagonal sandstone pillars. In the centre of the roof is an octagonal platform, approached by steps and covered with a large cupola. It was used perhaps to sit on and to enjoy the cool air and the vista of the tank.

The domical ceiling of the central room had graceful designs painted in harmonious colours, traces of which are still extant. The ceilings of the verandahs also bear traces of painted decoration. The facade is adorned with geometrical designs rendered in *hirmichi* red colour. Stalactites appear on the ceiling of the central room. The whole structure is covered with plaster with the smoothness of marble. On the northern facade is an inscription which has partly come off. The surviving portion is a verse containing the chronogram.²⁰ As construed from this chronogram, this Jal Mahal was built by Shah Quli Khan in 999 A.H./1590 A.D.

Rang Mahal at Buria

It is a simple double-storeyed building situated to the north-west of the village, six km. to the east of Jagadhari (Illus. 49). H.H. Cole ascribes its construction to Shah Jahan who, he says, though without substantial basis, built it in 1630 A.D.²¹

Its ground floor comprises a square room of 4.3 m. side with an oblong room in each corner. All the rooms are covered with flat ceilings and connected with one another through one metre broad, flat-arched openings. The side rooms form a sort of corridor around the central rooms, in the centre of which is a thick pillar supporting the ceiling. Most probably, this pillar is a later addition as it is totally out of proportion with the dimensions of the room in which it stands.

One flight of steps from the north-west and south-west corner each, leads to the first floor which has a similar arrangement of rooms. The difference being that their ceilings are slightly domical and

there is no pillar in the central room as is seen in the ground floor. Once again, two flights of steps approach the top floor in the centre of which is an octagonal platform. On the top floor, the flights of steps are covered with simple structures, each topped by two small domes.

The building stands on a raised platform. There is a square tank of 4.3 m. side on each of its north-west and south-east sides. The structure is provided with straight as well as slanting ventilators so that every draught of air is bound to pass through the palace, cooling it.

The walls of the rooms are relieved with sunken panels and the whole interior is richly adorned with floral patterns painted in brilliant colours (Illus. 50). Chained elephants are painted on the walls of the oblong room in the north-east side of the ground floor (Illus. 51). The exterior too, bears traces of some geometrical designs. One panel depicting a woman with a peacock can still be seen, though not clearly on the north-western wall.

The whole building was plastered with such a fine quality of *chunam* (lime) that some of its portions still retain a marble-like lusture. At present, the building has developed wide cracks in its walls and ceilings and village lads use it for playing hide and seek.

Lala Rai Mukand ka Chhatta at Narnaul

In local parlance, this building is called *Birbal ka Chhatta*. This four storeyed mansion was erected by Lala Rai Mukand, a *mansabdar* during the reign of Shah Jahan.²²

A flight of steps in the western wall leads to a terrace on the first floor. Facing it, is the *chhatta* literally meaning a 'a honeycomb'—a marble platform corbelled out in the southern wall of the building. This platform is covered with a curved roof, an innovation of the period of Shah Jahan.

At this floor is a lofty gateway, facing west (Illus. 52). Its ceiling is adorned with attractive stalactite designs (Illus. 53). This gateway leads to a courtyard with deep arcades on all sides and a raised platform in the centre. From this courtyard one can approach all the other floors including the ground floor which consists of dark, cool and balmy rooms, one of them also having tanks and water chutes in it. The ceilings of the most of the rooms had been made of wood and that is why most of them gave way long ago. Some parts of the building bear traces of painted decoration.

Madrasa at Thanesar

It adjoins the southern wall of the tomb of Sheikh Chillie and is built on a level six metres lower than the tomb itself (Illus. 54). The enclosure of the madrasa is exactly the same in size, i.e., 53 m. square from outside. Although there is a small gateway in the south-west corner,

yet its main entrance is on the eastern side, approached by a flight of steps, rising with a gentle slope from the main road.

A deep arcade of nine openings on all sides enclose a courtyard, 35.8 m. by 37.5 m. in area. In its centre is a square tank of 8.2 m. side.

This madrasa is a brick structure. But General Cunningham says, "The building is formed entirely of the spoils of Hindu temples, the arcades being supported on plain Hindu pillars".²³ But the statement does not sound true and we can agree with Rodgers who opines that the General's note was intended perhaps for the Pathriya Masjid nearby.²⁴

Nothing is known about the date of the erection of the madrasa. However the fact that the only approach to the tomb lies through the madrasa establishes the view that both these buildings must have been erected conjointly, about 1650 A.D.²⁵ The madrasa must have formed a part of the religious complex that was Sheikh Chillie's abbey.

David Ross at the time of his visit in 1881-82 A.D., found the Hindu and the Muhammedan children learning *Gurumukhi* (Punjabi) and Persian in this madrasa.²⁶

Baolis

Baolis or stepwells were built all over the northern India much before the advent of the Mughals.²⁷ These "are found wherever the wells are deep and the water far from the surface".²⁸ Baolis were more popular in Gujarat where these were treated more artistically than they were anywhere else.²⁹ At Ahmedabad are several baolis "ornamented with pillars and galleries to as great an extent as some of the largest buildings above ground".³⁰ The artisans of Gujarat introduced this particular form of structure in Mughal architecture as a cool retreat³¹ as to dwell on all sides of a cool body of water in subterranean rooms must have been a heaven indeed.

Two striking examples of baolis exist in Haryana—the first one at Narnaul and the other at Mehm.

The baoli at Narnaul was built by Ali Jan, a man of note in Akbar's reign.³² This baoli forms a part of a complex given the appellation of *Mirza Ali Jan ka Takhat*. Breadth-wise, the structure measures 13.4 m. The gateway to the baoli is a double storeyed structure surmounted with an open, pillared pavilion (Illus. 55). The gate bears two inscriptions—one below the projected balcony and the other at the top of the pillared pavilion. Currently, there are only two storeys of arcades below ground level (Illus. 56). Whereas the western portion is in ruins, all the rest has submerged.

To the east of the gateway is an octagonal tank of three metres side with a fountain in its midst. From here extended a garden enclosure to the east. What survives of this garden is two water chutes formed by

receding layers of stones. In its pristine condition, the whole must have been imposing.

The finest and the best preserved baoli all over the Punjab and Haryana is the one at Mehm which according to the inscription it bears, was erected by Saidu Kalal, in the year 1069 A.H./1658-59 A.D.³³ This person is said to have been a mace-bearer to Shah Jahan.³⁴ It is a magnificent structure, so much so that General Mundy has appraised it as "a monument of public utility worthy of munificence of a Roman Emperor".³⁵

This brick and *kankar* structure descends in three stages. The first stage is reached by traversing a flight of 16 steps (Illus. 57). From here an equal number of steps leads to the second stage. Hence a flight of 27 steps leads down to an arched gateway, with rectangular recesses in its sides. Four steps more and one reaches the third stage. Hence forward all has been submerged. All the previous levels are rectangular in shape whereas the last one is a 6.7 m. square. Adjoining it is the round shaft of the well, forming the south end of the structure. Close to the well are said to have been suites of rooms.³⁶ It is with these rooms that one can realize the great achievement of the Mughals which was to transform the furnace heat of India into a cool paradise.

A raised platform with a tank on either of its eastern and western sides marks the well on the ground level. The inscription referred to earlier, is engraved in a white marble slab studded in the southern wall of the shaft.

Bridges

In his *Memoirs* Jahangir ordered that at the passage of every river, whether large or small, convenient bridges be erected so that the illustrious traveller might be enabled to pursue his objects without obstruction.³⁷ Some of the extant Mughal bridges built by Jahangir and his successors are described below.

The remains of two bridges, which once spanned the Kalna or Kali-veni river at Sultanpur Lodi still exist to the north of the Mughal Sarai in the same town. Of these, the upper one is said to have been built by Jahangir and the lower one by Aurangzeb.³⁸ Accounting for their being in ruinous condition Cunningham states that "as the piers had the same thickness as the span of the arches, one half of the waterway was obstructed, and the river, like Virgil's *pontem indignatus araxes*, soon made a way for itself by cutting away the bank at one end of the bridge".³⁹

One of the bridges, in perfect order, spans Sirhind *choa* (Illus. 58). This bridge is situated one km. to the north-west of the Aam Khas Bagh at Sirhind, on the road to Morinda. Another bridge once spanned the Dhauli-Veni river to the east of the Dakhini Sarai, on

Nakodar-Kapurthala Road. The ruins of five arches remain today. This bridge is said to have been built during the reign of Shah Jahan,⁴⁰ as was the sarai nearby. Still another Mughal bridge is over *Budhiawala Nala* at Khwaja Sarai in the Faridabad district (Illus. XVI).

Kos Minars

In 1619 A.D., Jahangir ordered Baqir Khan the *fauzdar* of Multan, to erect a kos minar at every kos, marking the distance.⁴¹ A large number of these kos minars survive to this day, partly due to the fact that these were repaired by the inhabitants, from time to time, as an act of public welfare.⁴²

Kos minars are usually brick structures, covered with plaster (Illus. 59). Each minar soars from a tapering octagonal base which rises to nearly half of its total height. Hence forward, it becomes a tapering circular pillar rounded at the top. The octagonal base is separated from the circular portion by a moulding, above which runs a band of colour. A similar band of colour is also there, below the spherical top.

Tanks

A large tank built by the eunuch Shamsheer Khan,⁴³ exists to the north of his own tomb near Baring College at Batala. In the midst of this tank stands a pavilion which used to be approached only by a boat.

Outside the town of Jhajjar, on Delhi-Rohtak Road is a small tank made of *kankar* and measuring 60 m. by 67 m. It is locally called *Buwawala Talab* and is said to have been built by Kalal Khan, a mace bearer of emperor Jahangir, in 1035 A.H./1625 A.D.⁴⁴ According to a published Report "there are four wells within the tank, on account of which the water in it never dries up".⁴⁵ There are two separate *ghats* for men and women to have a dip in.

To the north of the same town is another tank, locally known as Shah Kamal Gazi's tank (Illus. 60). It measures 124 m. by 127 m. On its western side is a large *ghat*, once flanked by two octagonal towers in the southern one of which was an inscription.⁴⁶ According to this inscription, Rai-i-Raian Durga Mal made the tank in 1036 A.H./1626 A.D. in honour of Abul Samad, son of Mankan, seer and *faqir*.

REFERENCES

1. Maulvi M. Ashraf Hussain, "Inscriptions of Emperor Babur", *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement)*, 1965, Calcutta, 1966, 54-55.
2. David Ross has wrongly counted these small domes to be 26 whereas they could be only 18 in number. (*The land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, Patiala, 1970 Rep., p. 244).
3. Charles Rodgers, *Revised List of the Objects of the Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 60.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
5. Charles Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle of the A.S.I. for the year 1888-89*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 19.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. The gateway of the fort bears a Persian inscription which has been translated as follows :
 "God wills his servants to enjoy his grace
 May the dwellers here be happy.
 In the time of the Emperor Alamgir,
 Saif Khan founded Saifabad."
 The last line of the inscription forms a chronogram which yields the date 1067 A.H./1656-57 A.D. (*Punjab Notes & Queries*, I, August, 1884, 129).
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
 The complete inscription reads as follows :
 "In the time of the defender of the Faith
 Shah Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan,
 For the worship of the faithful,
 The foundations of this building were laid
 The date and year of this the learned can tell,
 The founder of this masjid was Saif Khan."
13. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, 1970, p. 74.
14. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle*, p. 25.
15. Rodgers says that according to the usual style of interpreting chronograms, the last line of the inscription yields only 1031 A.H. (*Ibid.*).
16. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, tr. A. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873, p. 315.
17. Rodgers, *Revised List*, p. 34.
18. *Ibid.*
19. The bricks obtained from the ruins supplied ballast to Pathankot-Amritsar Railway track. (*Ibid.* & Sir John Marshall, *Annual Report of the A.S.I., 1907-08*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 32).
20. B.K. Thapar (ed.), *Indian Archaeology, 1973-74—A Review*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 43.
21. H.H. Cole, *List of some Ancient and other Native Architectural buildings in India*, Simla, 1880, p. 11. It is also said that emperor Jahangir built it who used to halt here on his way to his favourite hunting ground at Kalesar. (*Ambala District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1925, p. 145).
22. H.B.W. Garrick, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84*, Vol. XXIII, Varanasi, n.d., p. 28.
23. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
24. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle*, p. 10.
25. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*
26. David Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
27. R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 23.
28. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1967, p. 183.
29. R. Nath, *loc. cit.*
30. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.
31. R. Nath, *loc. cit.*

32. *Phulkian State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1909, p. 198.
33. The complete inscription reads :
 "In the reign of the king of kings, conqueror of the world,
 This spring of paradise was dug by Saidu
 When I searched for its date from the sage
 He replied, 'The water of charity flowth ever', A.H. 1069".
34. H. Hargreaves, *Annual Report of A.S.I., 1927-28*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 18.
35. General Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, Vol. I, London, 1832, p. 354.
36. Rodgers, *Revised List*, p. 76.
37. *Memoirs of Emperor Jahanguir*, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d., p. 157.
38. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in Punjab and its Dependencies*, Lahore, 1875, Part IV, pp. 4-5.
41. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Book II, tr. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p. 100.
 Travernier praised this road so much so that he compared it with "a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides." (Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol. I, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, pp. 95-96).
42. Capt. Leopold Von Orlich, *Travels in India including Sindh and the Punjab*, London, 1845, p. 270.
43. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 84.
44. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest*, Part II, pp. 6-7.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Rodgers, *Revised List*, p. 78.



APPENDIX

SOME EXTINCT MUGHAL GARDENS IN THE PUNJAB AND HARYANA

In addition to the two Mughal gardens described in Chapter 2, I have come across references to eight more gardens in the Punjab and Haryana, of which mere traces or nothing at all is extant. On the basis of these references, whatever could be made out of these extinct gardens is registered below :

Kabuli Bagh at Panipat

To the north-east of the town of Panipat is a large mosque, locally known as Kabuli Bagh Masjid. The main gateway of the mosque bears an inscription stone measuring 4.28 m. by 0.35 m., fixed above the arch. The inscription consists of five couplets in Persian, carved in two lines of *Naskh* characters. According to this inscription, Babur completed a mosque, a well and a *chahar-bagh* in the year 935 A.H./1528-29 A.D.¹ Of this complex, only a part of the mosque is extant. Though no trace of the garden is left, but one thing is certain that it was a four part garden, divided into quadrants by water-channels. This Kabuli Bagh,² as it was popularly known, was one of the earliest archetypes of the splendid Mughal garden tradition in India.

Akbar's Garden at Kalanaur

The coronation ceremony of Akbar was performed at Kalanaur on the spot now marked with a masonry platform, known as Takhat-i-Akbari. Later, gardens, with wells, palaces and baths were laid out around the 'Takhat'.³ Jahangir has recorded his one visit to this garden in 1619 A.D.⁴ Only the masonry platform is extant now, the rest having vanished completely.

Garden at Hissar

✓ According to an inscription on a tomb at Hissar, Aba Yazid constructed a garden around his tomb in 974 A.H./1566-67 A.D.⁵ Neither its location nor any other detail of the garden have come down to us.

Bagh Aram-i-Kausar at Narnaul

✓ Shah Quli Khan had laid out a walled-in garden with an imposing gateway, around his tomb in 997 A.H./1588-89 A.D. and named the

garden *Aram-i-Kausar*.⁶ The tomb is in an excellent state of preservation, but of the garden, only the gateway and parts of the enclosing wall are extant.

Garden at Nakodar

During the second year of his reign, i.e., in 1608 A.D., Jahangir ordered Muizzul-Mulk, the *jagirdar* of Nakodar to prepare a garden.⁷ Most probably the existing tombs of *Ustad* and *Shagird* were situated in this garden. Some surviving old trees from this garden were noticed by Alexander Cunningham when he visited this place during 1878-79 A.D.⁸ The building to the west of the tombs was perhaps one of the gateways of the garden. It has now been appropriated for P.W.D. rest-house. Another building of the garden is now serving as the *Tehsil* office.

Garden at Mehm

A garden existed about 1.5 km. to the west of Mehm.⁹ It was built by Saidu Kalal, during the reign of Shah Jahan.¹⁰ The walls of the garden were extant not very long ago.¹¹

Terraced Garden at Batala

Amar Singh, the *qanungo*, had laid out a terraced garden at Batala.¹² It was in three terraces, the highest of which overlooked the tank of Shamsheer Khan.¹³ According to the author of the *Khulastut-Tawarikh*, this garden was designed in imitation of the Shalamar at Lahore¹⁴ which was completed in 1642 A.D. Sujan Rai completed his *Khulastut* in 1696 A.D.¹⁵ Therefore, this garden came into existence between this period. Admiring the beauty of the garden, the same author adds that it attracted the gaze of the beholders by its freshness and beauty and pleased the sight-seers of the town.¹⁶ Nothing virtually remains of this garden.

Garden of Khan Sadiq at Panipat

A walled garden was laid out by Nawab Shamas-ud Daula Lutfulla Khan Sadiq at Panipat in 1224 A.H./1809 A.D.¹⁷ No other detail of this garden has come down to us.¹⁸

REFERENCES

1. M.A. Hussain, "Inscriptions of Emperor Babur," *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian supplements)* 1965, Calcutta, 1966, 54.
2. When Babur built his palace and garden at Agra, he himself tells us as follows : "The people of Hind who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically, and thus laid out, called the site of the Jun (Jamuna) where (our) residences were, Kabul." (*Babur-nama*, Vol. II, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1921, p. 487) : Perhaps similar was the case at Panipat.

3. C.J. Rodgers, *Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891, p. 34.
4. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Book II, tr. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p. 114.
5. The inscription is given by P. Horn in *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 157. He reads the name as Bayazid whereas according to M.N. Deshpande, it is Aba, son of Yazid. (*Indian Archaeology*, 1971-72, New Delhi, 1975, p. 62). But I think that both of them could not decipher the name well. If the Persian text of the inscription given by P. Horn is to be believed then the name is Aba Yazid. (Yazid is a principal city in Iran). Different dates are given by P. Horn and Deshpande. But as Rodgers in his *List...* independently agrees with Deshpande, I have given this date. P. Horn gives it to be 975 A.H.
6. Mulk Raj Anand, "Haryana Heritage", *Marg*, XXVII, Sept., 1974, 32. Dr. Anand has not mentioned the source of his information but as far as I think, it is from Abdul Latif Abbasi's *Safarnama*. He travelled through this territory in 1608 A.D.
7. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, Book I, p. 136.
8. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79*, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, 1970, p. 59.
9. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies*, Lahore, 1875, Part II, pp. 8-9.
10. *Ibid.*
An extensive baoli built by the same person is still extant in this town.
11. I have visited the town a number of times. Most of the inhabitants of the town testify the former existence of this wall.
12. J.N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzib*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 85.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulastut Tawarikh* (Pbi. tr.), tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. IX.
16. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*
17. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest*, Part I, pp. 40-41.
18. Subhash Parihar, "Some Extinct Mughal Gardens in the Punjab and Haryana", *Islamic Culture*, LVIII, July 1984, 251-54 and *Vishveshyaranand Indological Journal*, XXI, June-Dec. 1983, 240-44.

Glossary

Aisle : Lateral divisions running at the sides of the nave.

Alcove : Vaulted recess in a wall.

Amalka : Flat fluted melon-shaped member usually at the summit of the Indo-Aryan type of spire.

Arabesque : Decoration with fanciful intertwining of ornamental elements.

Arcade : Range of arches supported on piers or columns.

Balcony : Outside balustrated platform.

Baoli : Step-well.

Baradari : Literally "having twelve entrances", a pillared portico or pavilion, columned building.

Barrel-vault : Cylindrical form of roof or ceiling.

Bas-relief : Sculpture in which figures do not stand far out from the ground on which they are formed.

Bastion : Projecting part of a fortification.

Battlements : Indented parapet.

Bay : A division or compartment between pillars.

Beam : A long piece of stone or wood supported at each end.

Bracket : Projected ornament or support.

Bulbous : Shaped like a bulb, nearly spherical.

Cantilever : A horizontal projection supported by a downward force behind a fulcrum.

Cardinal sides : The four chief sides — north, south, east and west.

Cascade : A waterfall.

Causeway : Raised road.

Ceiling : Covering surface under roof.

Chabutra : Raised platform.

Chevron : A zigzag pattern usually carved on the shafts of columns.

Chhajja : Overhanging cornice, eaves.

Chhatri : Kiosk or small pavilion, acting as turret on the roof.

Chute : Patterned sloping surface over which water ripples down.

Cloister : Covered corridors, or passages usually surrounding an open square.

- Column** : An upright member, circular in plan and usually slightly tapering.
- Corbel** : Blocks of stone projecting from a wall or pier : brackets.
- Corbelling** : Brick or masonry courses, each built out beyond the one below.
- Cornice** : Any crowning portion or projection.
- Crenellated** : Furnished with battlements or loop-holes.
- Cupola** : A dome, especially a small dome on a circular or polygonal base crowning a roof or turret.
- Cusped arch** : An arch having arches within its curve. Also called engrailed arch.
- Diaper** : Small floral pattern repeated continuously over a wall surface.
- Dome** : A vault of even curvature erected on a circular base. The section can be segmental, semi-circular, pointed or bulbous.
- Double dome** : A dome composed of an inner and outer shell of masonry.
- Drum** : Circular or polygonal wall on which the dome rests.
- Eaves** : *Chhajja* : Lower portion of a roof projecting beyond the face of a wall.
- Encaustic tiles** : Earthenware tiles glazed and decorated.
- Engrailed arch** : See cusped arch.
- Epigraph** : An inscription, especially on a building.
- Facade** : Front view or elevation.
- Fluting** : Vertical channelling on the shaft of a column, etc.
- Foliated** : Carved with leaf ornament.
- Gallery** : Passage common to rooms in an upper storey.
- Garth** : Small garden within cloisters.
- Ghat** : Platform or steps at the edge of water.
- Glazed tiles** : See "Encaustic tiles".
- Hammam** : Bath suite.
- Idgah** : Praying place used on the two chief Muslim festivals.
- Inscription** : A record engraved in stone.
- Jali** : Literally "net", any lattice or perforated pattern.
- Jamb** : Sides of the opening of doors or windows.
- Kalasha** : Literally "vase"; an ornamental pot found in finials of domes and painted or carved decorations.
- Kiosk** : Small pavilion generally on parapet or roof.
- Lattice-work** : See *Jali*;
- Lintel** : See 'Beam'

Madrasa : School, college.

Mausoleum : A magnificent and stately tomb.

Medallion : A bas-relief of a round form.

Merlon : See 'Battlements'.

Mihrab : A niche cut into the western wall of an Indian mosque and acting as the focus for prayer.

Minar or Minaret : A high tower attached to a mosque and used for the call to prayer.

Mortar : Mixture of lime, sand and water for joining stones or bricks.

Mosaic : Surface decoration for walls or floors formed of small pieces of glazed tiles, stone or marble set in a mastic.

Mosque : *Masjid*; literally, "place of prostration".

Moulding : The contour given to projecting members.

Nave : The central or main compartment of a building.

Niche : Recess in wall for the reception of a statue or ornament.

Oblong : Rectangular.

Octagonal : Eight-sided.

Padam-Kosa : A sheath of lotus petals.

Panel : Sunken compartment in a wall, etc.

Parapet : Upper position of a wall, above the roof.

Pavilion : An ornamental building, lightly constructed, often used as pleasure-house or summer-house.

Pendentive : A concave spandrel leading from the angle of two walls to the base of a circular dome.

Pier : Supporting mass other than a column.

Pilaster : Square pillar projected from a wall.

Pillar : A free standing upright member which, unlike a column, need not be cylindrical or conform with any of the orders.

Pinnacle : Small turret-like termination.

Plan : Representation of a building showing the general distribution of its parts in horizontal section.

Plinth : Lower portion or base of a building or column.

Pointed arch : An arch produced by two curves, each with a radius equal to the span and meeting in a point at the top; also called an equilateral arch.

Portal : Doorway.

Post : A stout, stiff stake or pillar of timber or other material, usually fixed in an upright position.

Quadrangle : A rectangular courtyard.

Rang Mahal : Pleasure-palace, one of the most sumptuous building in a palace, fortress, etc.

Recess : A depression.

Relief : Projection or standing out from the general surface, ground or level.

Reservoir : Artificial lake.

Sarai : Halting place for caravans.

Screen : Arcade separating a part of a building from the rest.

Scroll work : Spiral ornament or a ribbon-like strip, partly coiled or curved, often bearing a motif.

Shaft : Portion of a column between base and capital.

Soffit : Under-side of any architectural member.

Spandrel : Triangular surface between the curve of an arch and the square enclosing it.

Squinch arch : Arch placed diagonally at the angle in the interior of dome to connect from square to round.

Stalactite : System of vaulting remotely resembling stalactite formation in a cave.

Stucco : A kind of plaster or cement for coating surfaces.

Stupa : Originally a funeral mound or tumulus, but erected by the Buddhists either to enshrine a relic or to commemorate some sacred site.

Terraced : Ground or a structure that rises step-wise.

Trellis work : See "Jali" work.

Vault : Arched covering over any surface.

Verandah : An open gallery or balcony with a roof supported by light supports.

Voussoirs : Wedge shaped blocks forming a true arch.

Compiled from the following sources :

Nikolaus Pevsner et. al, *A Dictionary of Architecture*, London, 1975.

Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 2 Vols., Bombay, 1975.

Bibliography

Persian Chronicles

- Abul Fazl, *Akbar-Nama*, 3 Vols., tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1907.
- Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, Vol. II & III, tr. H.S. Jarett, Calcutta, 1873 and 1965 ed. (one Vol.).
- Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, New Delhi, 1970.
- Badaoni, Abdul Qadar, *Muntakhabu't Tawarikh*, Vol. I, tr. George S.A. Ranking, Vol. II, tr. W.H. Lowe, Vol. III, tr. T.W. Haig, Delhi, 1973.
- Elliot & Dowson (ed.), *History of India as told by its own Historians*, (Hindi), 8 Vols., Agra, 1974.
- Ferishta, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, 4 Vols., tr. John Briggs, London, 1829.
- Jahangir, *Memoirs of Emperor Jahangueir*, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d.
- Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. A. Rodgers and H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968.
- Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Badshah-Nama*, text, 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1872.
- Letters of Aurangzeb*, tr. J.H. Bilimoria, Delhi, 1972.
- Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 3 Vols., tr. B. De, Calcutta, 1936.
- Samsamuddaulah Nawab Shah, Nawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul-Umara*, 2 Vols., tr. H. Beveridge and Bainiprashad, Calcutta, 1911-41.

Accounts of Foreign Travellers

- Barr, Lt. William, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar and from thence to Cabul*, London, 1844.
- Bernier, Francis, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, Delhi, 1968.
- De Laet, Joannes, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1974.
- Forbes, James, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4 Vols., London, 1813.
- Foster, William (ed.), *Early Travels in India*, London, 1921.
- Mannuci, N., *Storia do Mogor*, tr. William Irvine, Calcutta, 1965.
- Monserate, *The Commentary of Father Monserate, S.J.*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, London, 1922.
- Mundy, Captain, *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, Vol. I, London, 1832.
- Ross, David, *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, Patiala Rep., 1970,

- Tavernier, J.B., *Travels in India*, 2 Vols., tr. V. Ball, London, 1889.
 Von Orlich, Leopold, *Travels in India, including Sinde and the Punjab*, 2 Vols., London, 1845.

Modern Works

- Aggarwal, V.S., *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965.
 Basham, A.L., (ed.), *A Cultural History of India*, Oxford, 1975.
 Beale, T.W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, Delhi, 1971.
 ✓ Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture*, 2 Vols., Bombay, 1968.
 Christie, A.H., *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931.
 Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, London, 1913.
 Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Delhi, 1972.
 ✓ Creswell, K.A.C., *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 Vols., Oxford, 1932.
 ✓ Creswell, K.A.C., *Early Muslim Architecture*, Pelican, 1958.
 ✓ Farooque, A.B.M., *Roads and Communications in Mughal India*, Delhi, 1977.
 Fergusson, James, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2 Vols., Delhi, 1967.
 Fletcher, Sir Banister, *A History of Architecture (On the comparative method)*, London, 1961.
 ✓ *Gardens of the Mughal India*, Delhi, 1973.
 Godard, Andre, *The Art of Iran*, London, 1965.
 Grover, Satish, *The Architecture of India (Islamic)*, Delhi, 1981.
 Haig Wolseley (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vols. III & IV, Delhi, 1965.
 Havell, E.B., *A Handbook of Indian Art*, Delhi, 1974.
 ✓ Hill, Derek and Graber, Oleg, *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration*, London, 1964.
 ✓ Hughs, T.P., *A Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1885.
 ✓ Kunhel, E., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1960 ed.
 Marshall, Sir John, *A Guide to Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1918.
 Nath, R., *Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture*, Bombay, 1970.
 Nath, R., *The Immortal Taj Mahal*, Bombay, 1972.
 Nath, R., *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, Bombay, 1976.
 ✓ Nath, R., *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976.
 ✓ Nath, R., *History of Sultanate Architecture*, Delhi, 1978.
 Osborne, Harold (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Art*, Oxford, 1970.
 Osborne, Harold (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Decorative Arts*, Oxford, 1975.
 Pope, A.U., *An Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1930.
 Pope, A.U., *Persian Architecture*, London, 1965.

Rice, David Talbot, *Islamic Art*, London, 1975.

Rowland, Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Penguin ed., 1970.

Rowchoudhary, M.L., *The Din-i-Ilahi*, Calcutta, 1941.

✓ Sarkar, J.N., *India of Aurangzib*, Calcutta, 1901.

Smith, Vincent, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930.

✓ Stuart, C.M.V., *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London, 1913.

Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, Delhi, 1967.

✓ Wilber, D.N., *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, Tokyo, 1962.

Gazetteers

Ambala District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1925.

Jullundhur District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1908.

Karnal District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1919.

Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1907 & Chandigarh, 1970 ed.

Phulkian State Gazetteer, Lahore, 1909.

Rohtak District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1911.

Archaeological Survey of India Publications

Cole, H.H., *Buildings in Punjab*, Simla, 1884.

Cole, H.H., *List of some Ancient and other native Architectural Buildings in India*, Simla, 1880.

✓ Cunningham, Alexander, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. II, Varanasi, 1972.

✓ Cunningham, Alexander, *Report of a Tour in Punjab in 1878-79*, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, 1970.

Deshpande, M.N. (ed.), *Indian Archaeology (1971-72) - A Review*, New Delhi, 1975.

✓ Garrick, H.B.W., *Report of a Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84*, Vol. XXIII, Delhi, n.d.

✓ Hankin, E.H., *The Drawing of Geometrical Patterns in Saracenic Art*, Memoir No. 15 of the A.S.I., Calcutta 1924.

Hargreaves, H. (ed.), *Annual Report for Year 1927-28*, Calcutta, 1931.

Marshall, Sir John (ed.), *Annual Report for Year 1907-08*, Calcutta, 1911.

Marshall, Sir John (ed.), *Annual Report for Year 1926-27*, Calcutta, 1930.

✓ *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in Punjab and its Dependencies*, Lahore, 1875.

✓ Rodgers, C.J., *Report of Punjab Circle of the A.S.I. for Year 1888-89*, Calcutta, 1891.

Rodgers, C.J., *Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1891.

Thapar, B.K. (ed.), *Indian Archaeology (1973-74)—A Review*, New Delhi, 1979.

Articles

Abluwalia, Dr. M.S. and Parihar, Subhash, "Mughal Sarais in the Punjab and Haryana", *The Panjab Past and Present*, XVI, April, 1982, 108-25.

Hussain, Maulvi M. Ashraf, "Inscriptions of Emperor Babur", *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement)*, 1965, Calcutta, 1966, 49-66.

Jafrazbhoy, R.A., "Early Garden-Palaces of the Great Mughals", *Oriental Art*, IV, Summer, 1958, 68-75.

MacLagan, E.D., "The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique in Punjab in 1641", *Journal of Punjab Historical Society*, I, 1911.

Maini, Jivtesh Singh, "Rendezvous with the Past", *The Sunday Tribune*, Nov. 12, 1978, 5.

Mirza, Dr. Wahid, "Some Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Punjab", *Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement)*, 1953-54, 1-11.

Nath, R., "Landscape Architecture and Gardening of the Mughals", *Marg*, XXVI, Dec., 1971, 9-48.

Parihar, Subhash, "Royal Seraglios", *Traveloid*, I, June, 1982, 9.

Parihar, Subhash, "Medieval Caravansarais", *The India Magazine*, III, May, 1983, 44-49.

Parihar, Subhash, "The Taj Mahal of Haryana", *Traveloid*, II, Nov., 1983, 8.

Parihar, Subhash, "Mughal Monuments of Jhajjar", *Haryana Review*, XVIII, Jan., 1984, 24-25.

Parihar, Subhash, "Baolis", *Caravan*, No. 767, May (Second), 1984, 51-53.

Parihar, Subhash, "Some Extinct Mughal Gardens in the Punjab and Haryana", *Islamic Culture*, LVIII, July, 1984, 251-54 & *Vishveshvarananda Indological Journal*, XXI, June-Dec., 1983, 240-44.

Pope, A.U., "Some Inter-relations between Persian and Indian Architecture", *Indian Art and Letters*, IX, 1935, 101-25.

Punjab Notes and Queries, I, August, 1984.

Voghel, J. Ph., "Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort", *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XIV & XV, Jan., April, July, Oct., 1911 and April, 1912.

Yazdani, G., "Narnaul and its Buildings", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., III, 1908, 581-86 and 639-44.

Index

- Aam Khas Bagh :
 - Sirhind; 10, 13
- Agra :
 - Gardens; 15;
 - sarais; 19
- Aibak, Qutubudin :
 - Architecture; 3
- Akbar :
 - gardens; 10;
 - Jesuit mission; 10;
 - sarais; 19;
 - style of buildings; 6
- Alai Darwaja; 3
- Arai Din Ka Jhompra, Ajmer; 7
- Architecture :
 - Islamic; 1, 4;
 - Turkish conquerors, influence of; 1
- Aurangzeb; 11 :
 - bridge; 47
- Babur; 6
- Balban, Tomb of; 3
- Baolis; 46
- Barr, William; 35
- Battle of Panipat; 6
- Beg, Malik; 29
- Bichhwa Kankar; 33
- Birbal Ki Chattri, 45
- Bridges; 47
- Brown, Percy; 2, 6
- Buildings :
 - Muslim style; 2
- Canals; 9
- Chiniwali Masjid :
 - Thanesar; 41-42
- Coomaraswamy, A.K.; 7
- Cunningham; 34, 35, 42, 46
- Daulat Khana-i-Khas; 13
- Delhi :
 - gardens; 9, 15;
 - imperial style; 3
- Doraha Sarai; 23-25
- Finch, William; 11-13
- Gardens; 9
- Ghiyasud-din; 4
- Glazed tiles, use of— 5
- Gujarat :
 - Baolis; 46;
- Gulistan; 9
- Guru Tegh Bahadur; 42
- Hammam; 12
- Hasan Shaheed :
 - Tomb of; 33
- Hindu art; 2
- Hindu craftsman; 3
- Hindu temples; 2
- Hissar :
 - tombs; 29
- Huseni, Muhammad Mumin; 34
- Ibrahim Khan :
 - Tomb of; 31
- Illtutmish; 3 :
 - Tomb of; 3, 28
- Indigenous artisans; 1
- Indo-Islamic architectures; 4
- Jahangir; 12-13 :
 - bridges; 47;
 - sarais; 19;
 - tanks; 48
- Jain Temples, 2
- Jal Mahal Narnaul; 44
- Jama Masjid Kaithal; 41
- Jhajjar :
 - group of tombs; 33
- Kabuli Bagh Mosque at Panipat; 6, 40
- Kaithal Gurudwara; 35
- Kalal, Saidu; 47
- Kali Veni River :
 - bridge; 47
- Khabgah; 11
- Khalji, Ala-ud-din :
 - architecture; 3;
 - gardens; 9
- Khan, Fidai; 14

- Khan, Kalal :
 tanks; 48
 Khan, Waltu; 29
 Khwaja Sarai; 48
 Kochak, Tardi; 29
 Kos Minars; 48

 Lahore; 5
 sarais; 19
 Lahori, Abdul Hamid; 7; 10
 Lala Rai Mukand ka Chatta, Narnaul; 45
 Lodi, Ibrahim; 40
 Lodi memorials; 4
 Lodi, Sikandar :
 tomb; 5

 Maasir-i-Rahimi; 35
 Madrasa, Thanesar; 45-46
 Mahiyuddin Alamgir Shah; 43
 Manrique; 12-13
 Mehtabi Chabutara; 11
 Monserrate, S.J.; 10
 Mosques; 40 :
 Bahadurgarh; 42
 Mosque of Abdul Wahab Sadhora; 42
 Moth ki-Masjid; 5
 Mughal Architecture
 Humayun, Role of; 6
 Mughal Gardens; 15 :
 Agra; 14
 Mughal Style; 6
 Multan; 5 :
 architecture; 4
 Manawar, Shaikh; 29

 Narnaul, Baoli; 46
 Naughara; 12
 Nurjahan; 6

 Persian :
 gardens; 9
 Sarais; 18
 Pinjore garden; 14
 Pre-Islamic builders; 1
 Provincial styles; 5
 Purdah garden; 14

 Qasr-al-Hair :
 garden; 9
 Qila-i-Quhna Masjid; 5
 Qutb Minar; 3
 Quwwat-ul-Islam; 3

 Rai-i-Raian Durga Mal, tank of;
 48
 Raib, Minar; 33
 Rakhna, Hafiz :
 death; 10
 Rambagh; 14
 Rang Mahal; 12, 15
 Aam Khas Bagh; 13
 Pinjore Garden; 15
 Rang Mahal Buria; 44-45
 Rodgers; 15, 33, 42

 Sarad Khana; 12
 Sarai Amanat Khan; 21-22
 Sarai Lashkari Khan; 25
 Sarai Nur Mahal; 19-20
 Sarais, 18 :
 typical architectural forms; 18
 Sayyids, Memorials of; 4
 Shah Jahan; 11-12 :
 architecture; 7;
 bridges; 48
 Shah Kamal Gazi's tank; 48
 Shamsher Khan :
 tanks; 48
 Sheesh Mahal; 12
 Sher-Shah Sur :
 buildings; 5;
 sarais; 18
 Sirhind choa :
 bridge; 47
 Sultan Ghari, Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad's
 Tomb; 28

 Taj Mahal; 28, 34
 Takhat-i-Akbari, Kalanaur; 43
 Tanks; 48
 Tilangani, Khan-i-Jahan; 4
 Timber constructions; 5
 Timur; 14
 Tomb of Abdul Wahab; 43
 Tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahlolpur;
 31-32
 Tomb of Hussain Khan at Bahlolpur; 30
 Tomb of Rukn-i-Alam; 4
 Tomb of Shagird at Nakodar; 36-37
 Tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul,
 30
 Tomb of Shamsher Khan at Batala; 32
 Tomb of Sheikh Chillie at Thanesar;
 35-36

Tomb of Ustad at Nakodar; 34-35

Tombs :

constructions, traditions; 28;

octagonal form; 28

Tughlaq, Firuz Shah; 11 :

Gardens; 9

Yadvindra Garden; 14



72767



↑
I. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh; Sheesh Mahal



←II. Sarai Nurmahal :
Western Gateway



←III. Sarai Nurmahal :
A carved panel
depicting elephants

IV. Sarai Amanat Khan : Western Gateway





V. Sarai Amanat Khan : Eastern Gateway; A glazed tile panel



VI. Sarai Amanat Khan : Mosque in the courtyard



VII. Dakhini Sarai : A distant view



VIII. Doraha Sarai : Northern Gateway



IX. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan



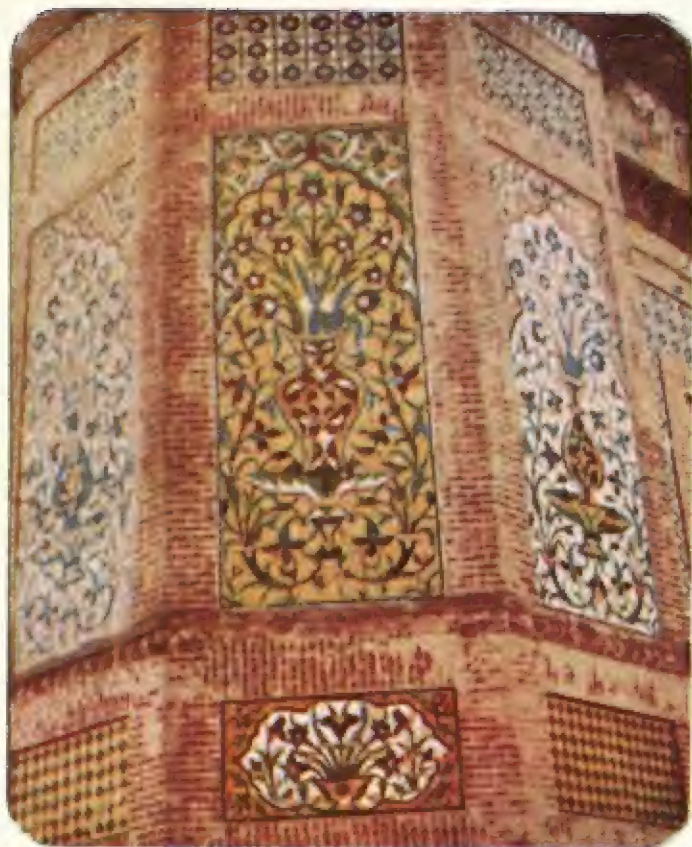
X. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan



XI. Nakodar : Tomb of Ustad



XII. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird



←XIII. Nakodar : Tomb
of Shagird ; A
Glazed tile panel

XIV. Kalanaur : Takhat-i-Akbari





XV. Narnaul : Jal Mahal



XVI. Khawaja Sarai : Mughal bridge over Budhiawala Nala



1. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh; Sheesh Mahal



2. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh; Daulat Khana-i-Khas



←3. Pinjore Garden :
The Cascade below
Baradari

4. Pinjore Garden :
Rang Mahal

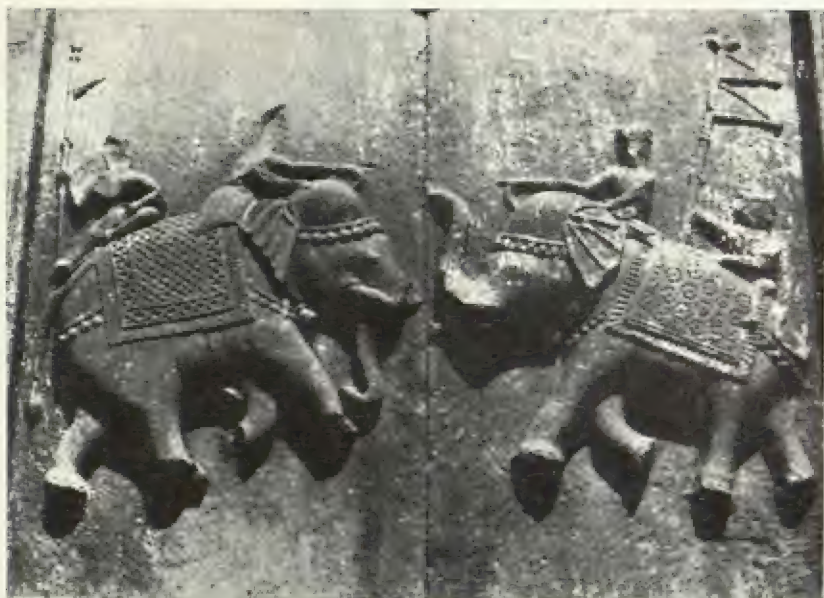




←5. Pinjore Garden : Water
Palace from Rang Mahal

6. Sarai Nurmahal :
Western Gateway
↓

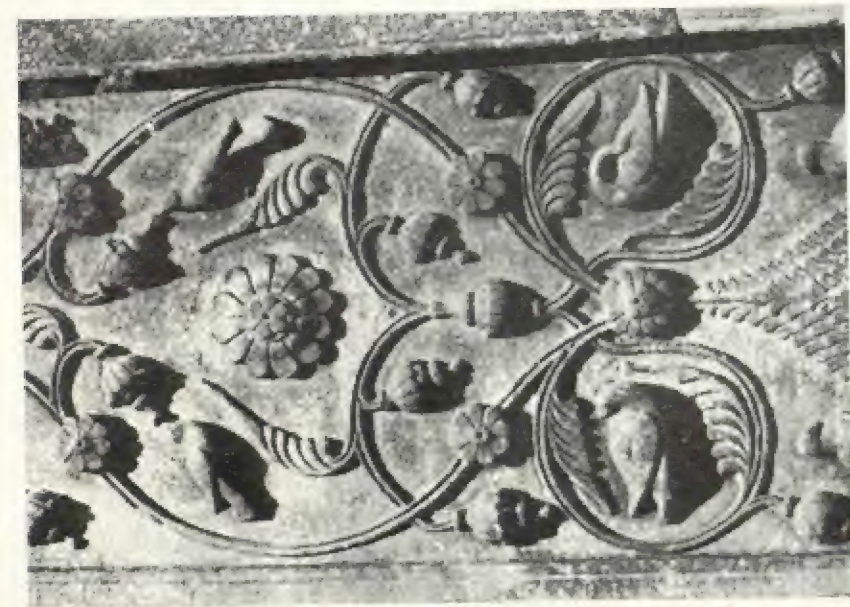




7. Sarai Nurmahal : Carving depicting elephants



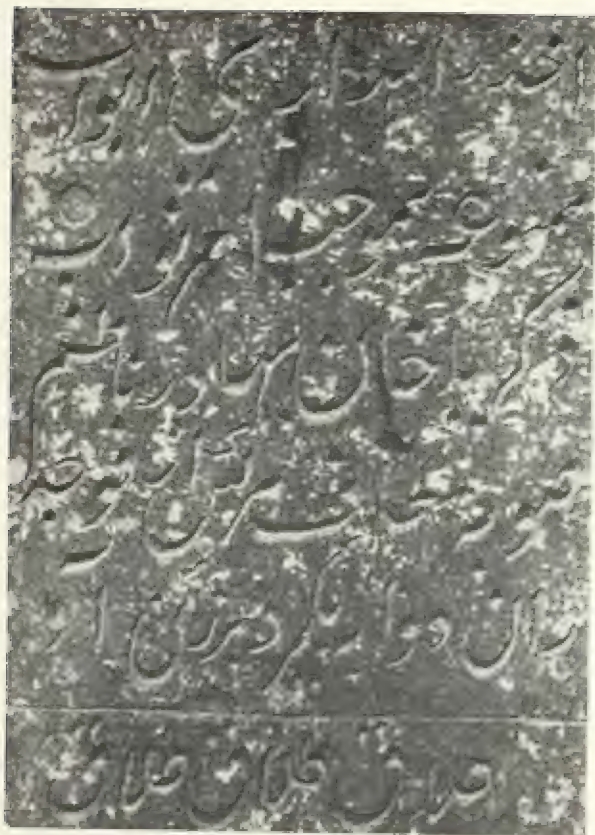
8. Sarai Nurmahal : Carving depicting human figures



9. Sarai Nurmahal : Carving depicting birds in a floral design



10. Sarai Nurmahal : A Geometrical Design



←11. Sarai Nurmahal :
Inscription



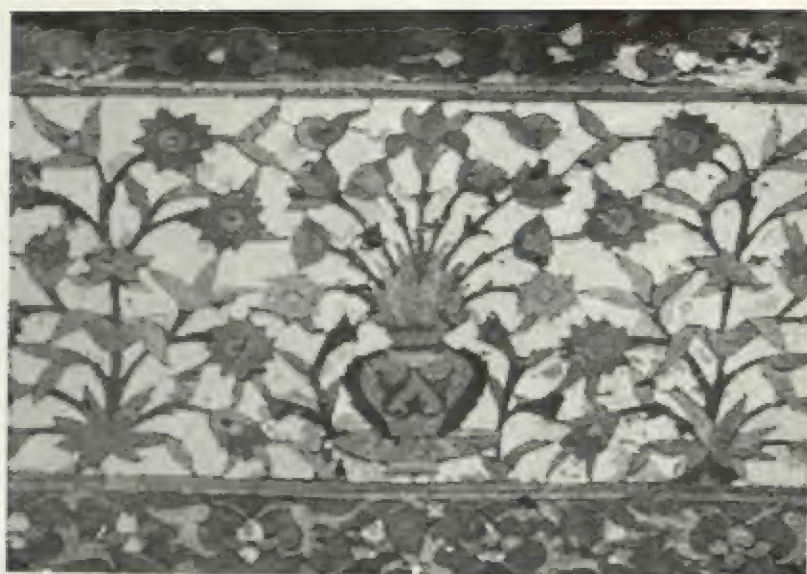
12. Garahunda Sarai : Southren Gateway



13. Gharaunda Sarai : Southern Gateway; Stalactite design



←14. Gharaunda Sarai :
Northern Gateway



15. Sarai Amanat Khan : A Glazed Tile Panel



16. Dakhini Sarai : Eastern Gateway



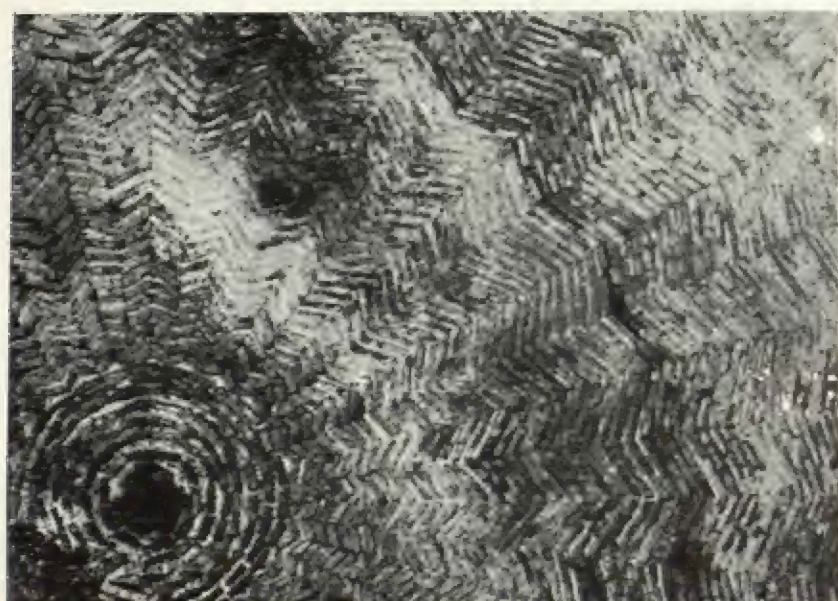
↑
17. Dakhini Sarai :
Western Gateway;
Inner side



←18. Doraha Sarai :
Glazed tile decoration



←19. Doraha Sarai :
Projected Chajja



20. Doraha Sarai : Northern Gateway; Brickwork in the ceiling



21. Sarai Lashkari Khan : Eastern Gateway



←22. Hissar : A Tomb



23. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Hussain Khan



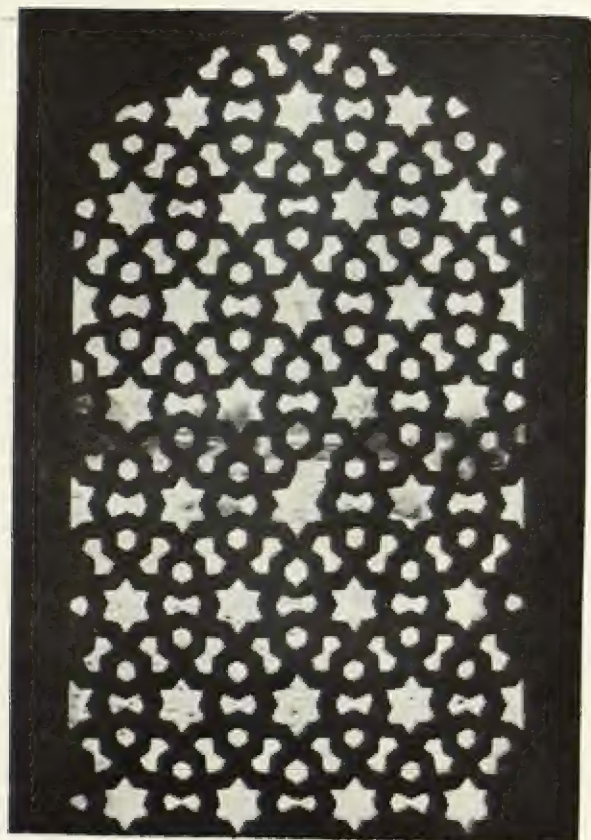
24. Narnaul : Tripolia



25. Narnaul : Tripolia; Painted design on the ceiling



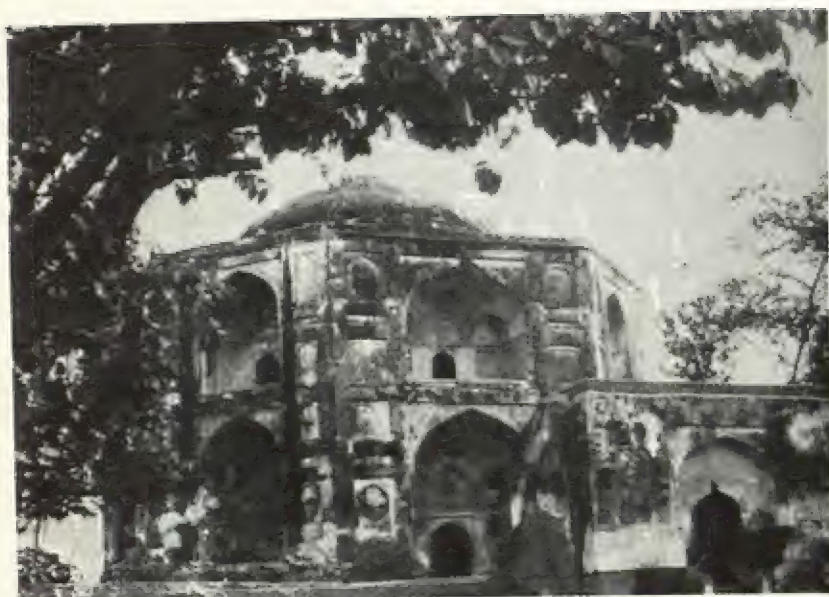
26. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan



←27. Narnaul : Tomb of
Shah Quli Khan ;
Lattice work



28. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Bahadur Khan



29. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan



←30. Batala : Tomb of
Shamsheer Khan;
Painted decoration



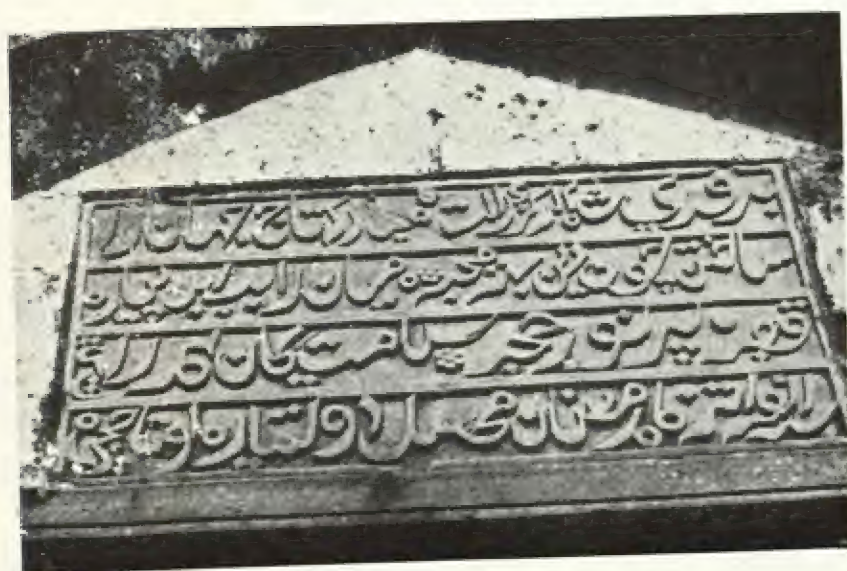
31. Batala : Tomb of Shamsheer Khan; Geometrical design of Swastikas



32. Jhajjar : Group of Tombs



33. Jhajjar : The Earliest Tomb



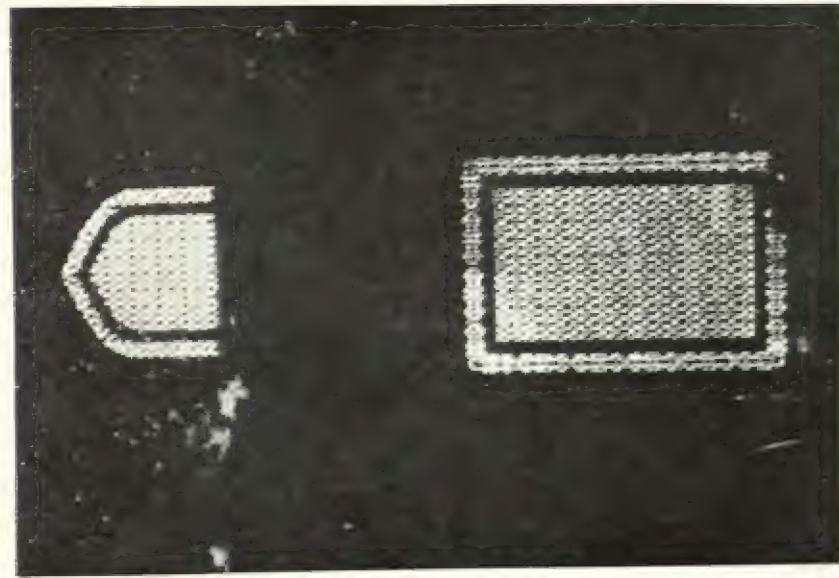
34. Jhajjar : Tomb of Mian Raib; Inscription



35. ↑ Jhajjar : The Fifth Tomb



↑36. Thanesar Tomb of Sheikh Chillie



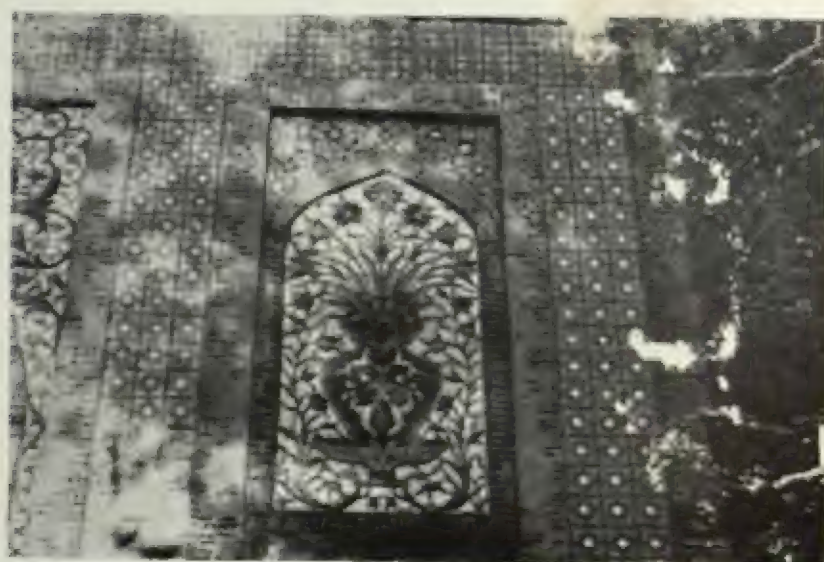
37, Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chillie; Lattice-work



38, Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chillie; A carved design



39. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird



40. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird; Glazed tile work



41. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird; Glazed tile work



42. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Mosque; Gateway



43. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Mosque



44. Kaithal : Jama Masjid



45. Thanesar : Chiniwali Masjid



46. Sadhora : Mosque of Abdul Wahab



47. Kalanaur : Takhat-i-Akbari



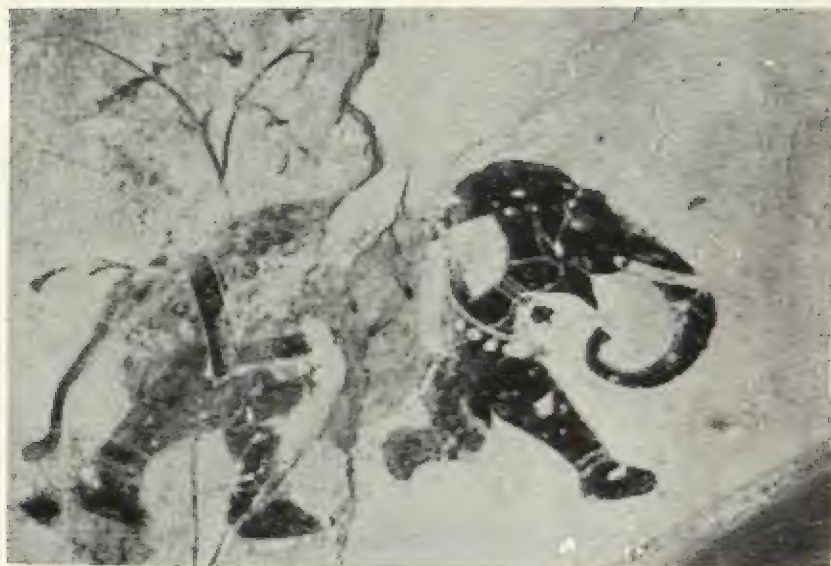
48. Narnaul : Jal Mahal



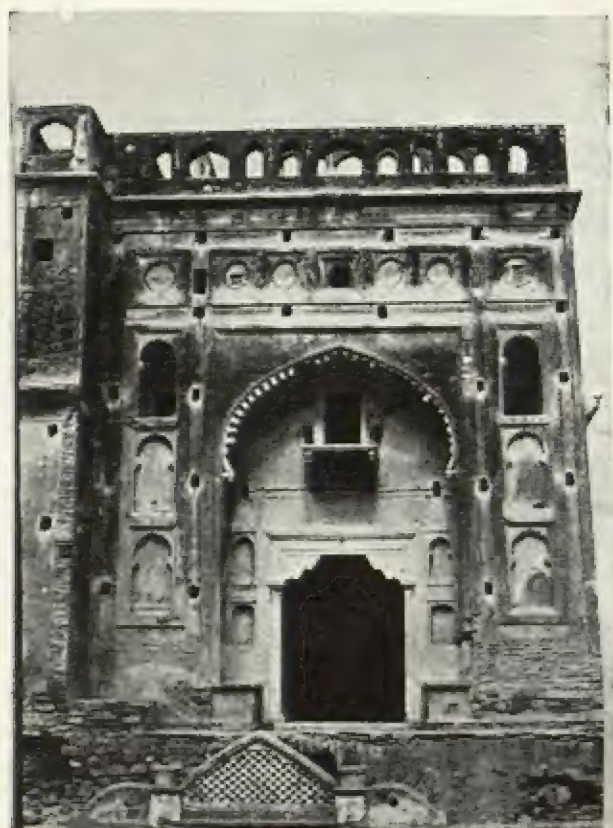
49. Buria : Rang Mahal



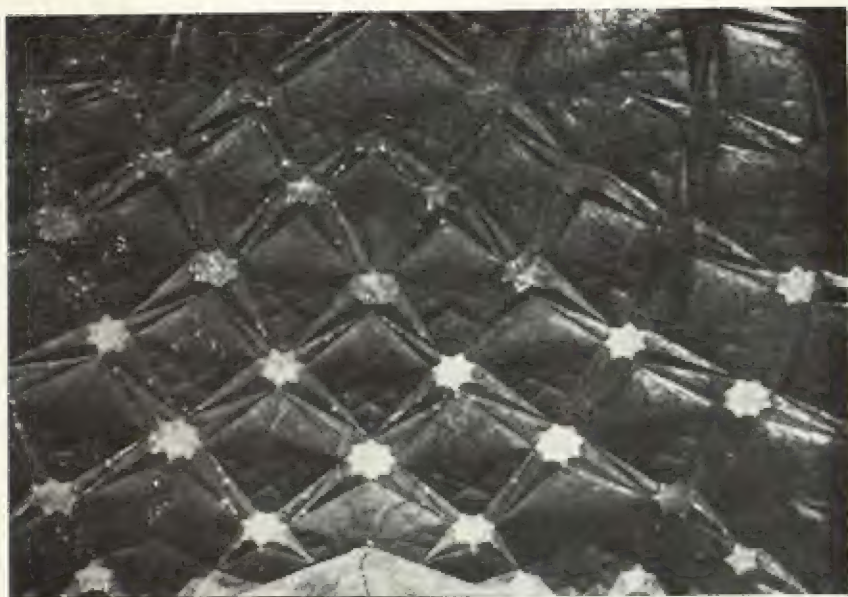
50. Buria : Rang Mahal; Painted designs



↑
51. Buria : Rang Mahal;
Painted elephant



←52. Narnaul : Lala Rai
Mukand Ka Chhatta
Gateway



53. Narnaul : Lala Rai Mukand Ka Chhatta; Stalactites



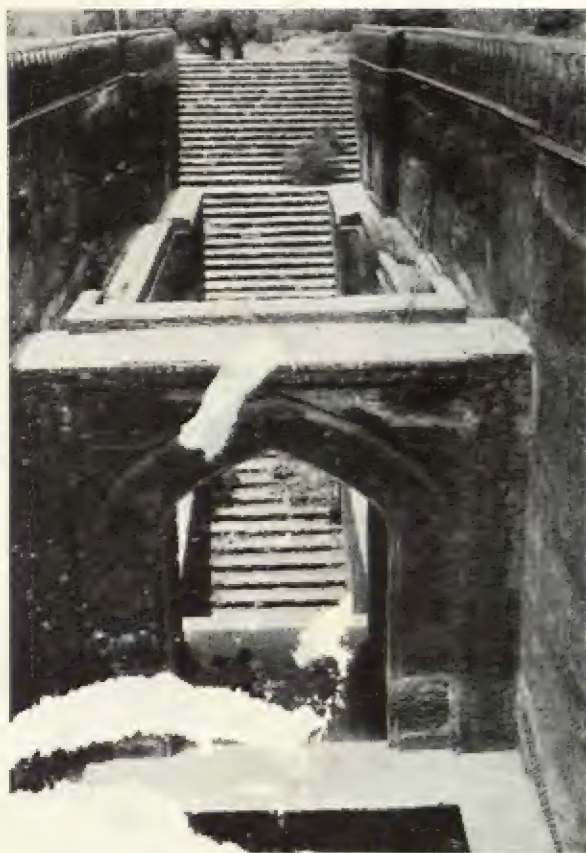
54. Thanesar : Madarasa



←55. Narnaul : Baoli

56. Narnaul : Baoli
Arcad

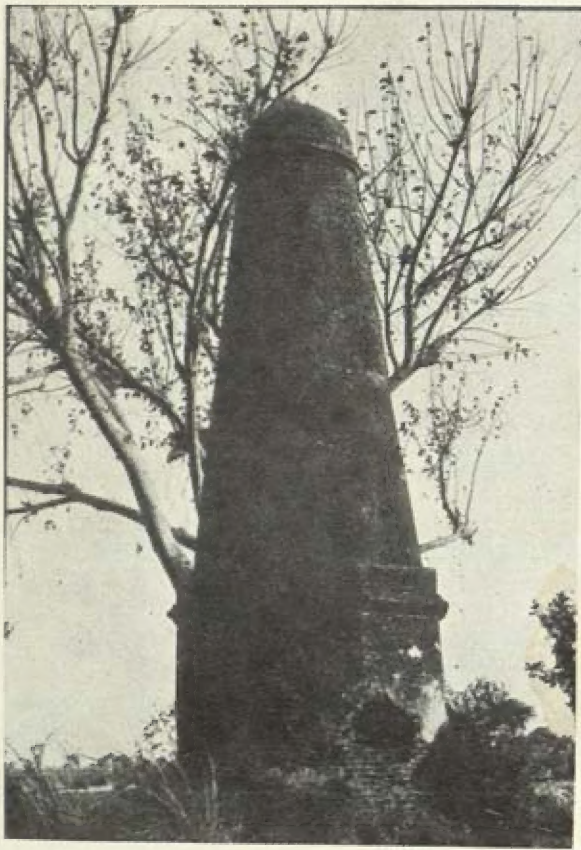




←57. Mehm : Baoli

58. Sirhind : Mughal Bridge
↓





←59. Nuruddin : Kos Mina



60. Jhajjar : Shah Kamal
Ghazi's Tank



72767

CATALOGUED.

Architecture (Mughal) — Monuments — Punjab
Monuments — Punjab — Architecture (Mughal)
Punjab — Architecture (Mughal) — Monuments

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.

S. B., 14B, N. DELHI.